The Outlook

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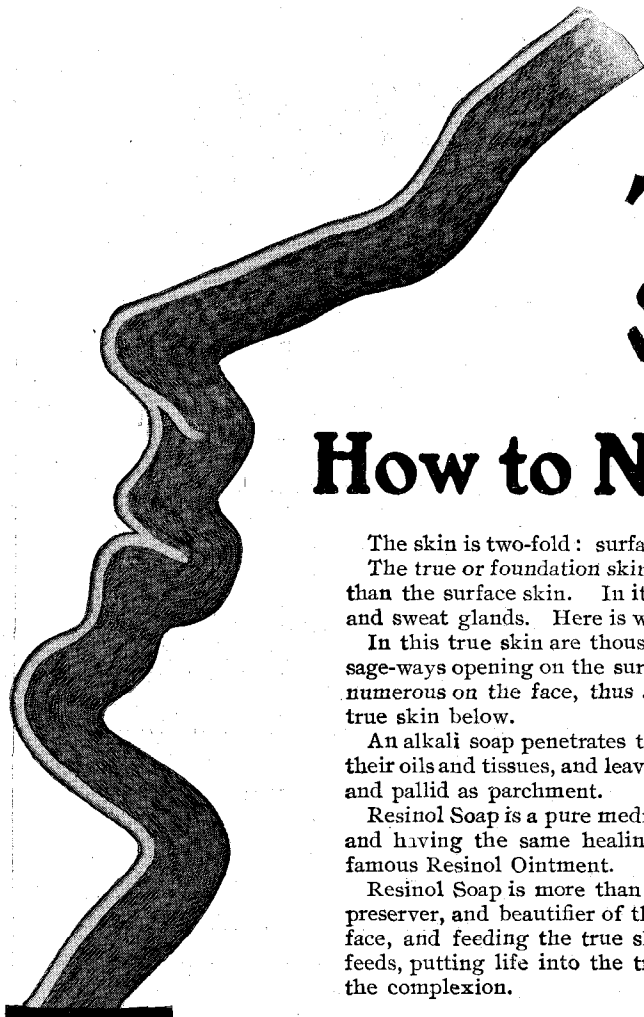

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The Outlook

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Russia and America

In the settlement of the Chino-Korean problem a steady increase of Japanese prestige and a consequent diminution of Russian influence was noted last week. The principal cause for this was the increasing realization of the new Americo-Chinese Treaty's value in guaranteeing not only open ports on the coast but also one in the interior of Manchuria. This realizes one of the demands made by Japan upon Russia, whose interests are now overwhelmingly preponderant in Manchuria. Not seeking territorial aggrandizement, America has been in a position to do what no other Power could have done. Her action has been by far the most potent factor in the situation. It has brought Russian aggression to a halt. It has made for peace. It is true that Japan simultaneously obtained from China commercial privileges similar to those given to America in Manchuria, but she got them because she happened to be in America's company. She received no such assurance from the Russian Minister at Tokyo as that given to Secretary Hay by the Russian Minister at Washington. Baron de Rosen at Tokyo assured the Japanese Government that Russia would place no obstacle in the way of the open door in Manchuria so long as it did not conflict with Russia's interests. As a matter of fact, while the open door has been of direct advantage to Russia in her pioneering in Manchuria, it is not of advantage, according to Russian ideas, now that the first stage of pioneering has been passed. During the last decade the foreign trade in Manchuria has increased enormously, American trade in particular. Within a few years the cotton imports from this country at the Manchurian treaty port of Niuchuang increased by no less than fourteen hundred per cent. While imports from America into Manchuria are still far in excess of those from any other country, since the Russian occupation they have declined, and it is plain that if Russia completes the plans which she is endeavoring to perfect there will soon be no trade in Manchuria except that under her own control. For instance, in a recent consular report from Niuchuang we read that an American firm was refused permission to erect warehouses at Dalny in which to store oil. When Russia was not so sure of her preponderance, this permission to the Americans was originally granted and a site promised, but after the structural iron for the buildings had been imported the permission was revoked! The consular report also contains the copy of a contract to imitate American trade-marks. This gives an idea of the efforts to which the Russians are resorting in their effort to monopolize Manchurian trade. Having conceded something as to open ports, Russia still refuses to acquiesce in the rights of the foreign powers to make settlements in Manchuria, despite the fact that she has a rapidly increasing number of such settlements. Japan contests this point, and with the greater persistence now that she has succeeded in reducing the Russian claims in Korea from practical Russian control to practical Japanese control. Japan will insist upon a grant of all her reasonable demands; otherwise she will have recourse to arms.

❀

Russia and France

The Japanese cause was further helped last week by French reluctance to aid Russia. Consistently with their enthusiastic words concerning the Russo-French alliance, French bankers have subscribed to

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three-quarters of the outstanding Russian bond issues. But they now feel that the time has come to halt, no matter how much Russia needs the money. So far it has been impossible for Russia to float another loan in France, of all countries the one most favorably disposed. Another and even more poignant disappointment came when the French Foreign Office decided that it could not assume any other position than that of military neutrality in possible hostilities between Russia and Japan. So far as the terms of the Franco-Russian alliance are known, that agreement provides for the co-operation of the signatories in the event of European complications only. Nine years ago, however, France co-operated with Russia in demanding that Japan give back southern Manchuria to China. It is not, then, surprising that Russia should have again counted on her European ally's help in Asia. Not only the French Government, but the French newspapers, are showing an apparently strange lack of interest in Russian aggressions in China and Korea. Two years ago Russia and France jointly promulgated a note announcing that they would act together concerning the integrity and free development of China. Many French journals point out that Russian policy is now inimical to the purposes of that note. The present Anglo-French friendship has borne fruit in a declaration, said to be identical, from the Foreign Offices of London and Paris, that if a war between Russia and Japan should arise it must be confined to the original combatants. The force of these checks to Russian policy, first from America and then from France, is admitted with evident disappointment by the Russians, who add that we, as an Occidental nation, cannot understand how severe such checks are in the eyes of an Oriental nation like Japan.

❀

Japan and the Yellow Peril

The Russians hide some of their chagrin at Japanese ascendency by further warnings concerning the "yellow peril" to which Japan's leadership of the Asiatic nations will, they say, now expose Europe and America. The Japanese themselves are at last moved to reply. They declare frankly that of course Japan wants to be a leader among the Asiatic nations—what nation would not? "But do not forget," they say, "that Japan has cast in her lot with America and Europe. Everything that she can hope to gain in material progress or in national prestige must be had by strictly following those lines laid down by the most enlightened nations for Japan's guidance. If Japan desires leadership among the Asiatic peoples, she desires none the less that they shall adopt the ideas of American and European civilization as she has adopted them, and benefit in the same way in which she has been benefited." Russian talk of "Christianity versus heathendom" especially arouses Japanese ire. Japan may not be a Christian nation in the narrower sense in which that expression is used, but Japan is a Christian nation in a wide sense. Many Japanese, distinguished public men as well as private individuals, are professing Christians. The Japanese Constitution guarantees absolute freedom of religious belief, and the Gospel of Christ is preached from one end of the Empire to the other. The Japanese once proposed to adopt a State religion, Christian in name, but afterwards realized that "Christianity made to order" does not present a particularly commendable aspect. A comparison between Japan's "heathenism," as shown in educational, political, and religious liberty, and Russia's Christianity as shown on the Amur in 1900, and since then in Finland and Transcaucasia, might result in a decision not wholly unfavorable to the Japanese side.

❀

Mr. Chamberlain's Commission

The members of the British Tariff Inquiry Commission recently appointed by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, ex-Colonial Secretary, include such prominent men as Mr. Chaplin, formerly President of the Local Government Board, Sir Robert Herbert, formerly Under Colonial Secretary, Sir Alfred Jones, President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Mr. C. A. Pearson,

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the well-known newspaper proprietor, and Mr. Alfred Mosely, who is even better known in America, since he has at his own expense sent two Commissions here to inquire into our commercial and educational conditions with a view to the incorporation of desirable features into England's system. Mr. Chamberlain's Commission is therefore no gathering of men of many minds. Like Cobden sixty years ago, Mr. Chamberlain rallies around him the supporters and converts to his fiscal policy, his own men, so to speak. The current "Punch" cleverly calls attention to this characteristic by a cartoon in which Mr. Chamberlain, with his inseparable eye-glass, leads an orchestra in which every musician also wears a monocle. The first meeting of the Tariff Inquiry Commission has now taken place. Mr. Chamberlain, in his address, declared that the Commission's sole purpose would be to receive and weigh evidence, and impartially to prepare a moderate, scientific tariff, which shall (1) defend British industries from unfair competition (*i.e.*, "dumping"), (2) provide the British Government with material for the negotiation of trade treaties with foreign countries, and (3) encourage commerce within the British Empire. On the day following this protectionist gathering their forces suffered a heavy defeat at the Norwich by-election. The Free Trade Liberals won the Parliamentary seat by a vote of over 8,500, the Conservative vote being about 6,700, and the Labor vote about 2,400. A few days later, at the Gateshead by-election, the protectionists were again disappointed. Yet Gateshead is an industrial constituency. The competition of foreign-made goods had been felt there, hence the protectionists expected that the force of the "dumping" argument would be quickly seen in its influence on workingmen's votes. Despite such exhibitions of Free Trade and Liberal strength, England is now confronted by the protectionist party machine of a past-master in the art of organization and effective aggression. As impressively indicated in his speech at the Guildhall, London, last week, Mr. Chamberlain will not shrink from pressing political problems to a sharper issue than has been the case since 1886, when he left the Gladstone forces on the Irish Home Rule question. The old names, "Tory," "Conservative," "Liberal-Unionist," "Liberal," "Radical," are well-nigh forgotten; instead, Mr. Chamberlain has now re-divided Englishmen into Protectionists and Free-Traders.

❀

Servile Labor for the Transvaal Mines

The gold production of the Transvaal has only recovered about two-thirds of the volume reached before the Boer War, and the mining companies have been conducting a vigorous agitation both in South Africa and in England for legislation permitting them to obtain cheap labor by the importation of Chinese coolies. Last week this agitation bore fruit in the passage of a bill by the Legislative Council at Pretoria authorizing the introduction of Asiatic laborers in the Rand district and defining the conditions under which they may be brought in. Though this bill is not yet law, the vote of the Legislative Council in its favor makes its terms of international interest. Its principal provisions are as follows:

1. No Asiatic laborer shall be employed except in unskilled labor in the mines.
2. At the expiration of three years—or five years if he renews his contract—the laborer shall be returned to the country from which he is brought.
3. While working in the mines he shall not leave the premises on which he is employed without a permit signed by an authorized person, and no permit shall cover more than forty-eight hours.
4. The contractor who imports the laborers shall be responsible for their return at the expiration of the contract, and his rights over the laborers cannot legally be assigned save to one other person, and that a person licensed by public officials as having provided suitable accommodations for coolie laborers.

The last provision is a concession to the humane sentiment which condemns the coolie system as a form of slavery, and would prevent the contracts for the employment of the laborers from being sublet and re-sublet to irresponsible individuals impelled to secure sweaters' profits by the brutal treatment of the men in their power. The first of the

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four provisions preventing the Asiatics from engaging in "skilled" work is, of course, a concession to the English or Caucasian employees in the mines—men with legislative influence. It is the labor of the Kaffirs alone that is to be cheapened by the Chinese competition. The same provision, by preventing the Chinese or Asiatics from engaging in skilled work, insures that their labor shall remain servile to the end. The material benefit of the mine-owners and not the bettering of citizenship or the elevation of labor is clearly the object of this legislation. Indeed, it might be characterized as a measure which seeks to increase wealth by degrading men.

❀

Arbitration Voluntary but Public Information Compulsory

Senator Cullom, of Illinois, has introduced a carefully considered bill to create a "National Arbitration Tribunal" for the settlement of labor disputes affecting inter-State or foreign commerce. The measure proposes that the new tribunal shall act as arbitrator only on the invitation of both parties to a dispute, but provides that on the invitation of only one party, or even without the invitation of either, the tribunal may investigate the merits of the controversy and publish a report thereon. For this investigation the tribunal is clothed with the authority of a court to require the attendance and testimony of witnesses, and the latter, as required by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, are expressly shielded from prosecution or punishment because of any transaction concerning which they may testify. This measure, it will be observed, is drawn along the lines of the best State arbitration acts—particularly that of Illinois. Inasmuch as it applies only to such inter-State or inter-country disputes as are beyond the field of State legislation, it does not conflict with the work the several States are doing in this matter, but supplements it and makes arbitration a truly National policy. Public sentiment is not yet apparently ready to make arbitration compulsory even in disputes between capital and labor employed in industrial monopolies on which the public is solely dependent for supplies, but it is prepared for the kind of compulsion which this bill contemplates—the compelling of both parties to a labor conflict to appear before an impartial tribunal which may thoroughly inform itself and the public as to the rights and wrongs of the case. Compulsion of this kind exercises in many cases almost the authority of law, for in labor disputes both sides have learned to recognize the present and the permanent value of the approval of public sentiment. In Canada the marked success of the Conciliation Act of 1900 under the tactful administration of the Ministry of Labor has been largely due to the power of the Minister to make inquiries under the provisions of quite another act. Where either side has trusted for justification of its course to public misrepresentations of the facts, the power of the Minister to inquire into the facts has promoted a disposition to accept conciliation. One of the most serious features of labor conflicts is the hostile class feelings they engender wherever the partisan accounts of the struggle are carried. A tribunal which could give the whole public an impartial report upon all labor struggles of National concern would promote social unity wherever these struggles are discussed.

❀

The Pure Food Bill Passes the House

By a vote of 201 to 68 the House of Representatives last week passed the Hepburn Pure Food Bill, which fixes the standards of certain foods and drugs as to purity and strength and forbids inter-State or foreign commerce in misbranded or adulterated articles. The chief criticism upon the bill in the course of the debate related, not to its essential principle—that the consumer ought to be protected against fraud—but to the danger that honest manufacturers might be prosecuted for unwitting offenses against some of its provisions, and that legitimate trade with other countries might be hampered by clauses requiring American wholesalers to guarantee the purity of the imported foods, wines, drugs, etc., covered by the bill. In response to the first of these criticisms the bill was at one time

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amended so as to punish offending manufacturers only for "willful" violation of its provisions, but the day following the House, by practically a party vote, struck out this amendment, which would have made the law unenforceable except where the Government could prove that manufacturers had intentionally misbranded their products. It is always extremely difficult to prove such intent, as intentional violators of law are commonly unscrupulous witnesses in their own behalf, and the House justly took the position that manufacturers could reasonably be expected to inform themselves as to the ingredients in their products. The criticism that trade, particularly along the Canadian and Mexican borders, would be hampered by the provisions requiring American wholesale dealers to guarantee the quality of imported goods was met by the statement that foreign goods, as a rule, are now handled by wholesale houses, and that it is desirable to relieve retail dealers from the responsibility of knowing the composition of their wares. In a measure such as the Pure Food Bill it is difficult in the first drafting to keep out entirely ill-considered details regarding standards of purity, etc., but the debate upon the pending Hepburn Bill strengthened the impression that this measure had been drawn with unusual care. The overwhelming majority by which it was finally adopted is evidence that the people of this country are determined to protect consumers against fraud, and honest manufacturers against the unfair methods of dishonest competitors. It also indicates a public desire that in the foreign markets American goods shall stand for quality and for honesty in their making and honesty in their selling.

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Negro Jurymen A decision of the United States Supreme Court delivered last week by Mr. Justice Holmes has given rise to considerable misunderstanding. One Southern newspaper goes so far as to say that "it is a decision that a negro cannot be tried by a white jury," and that "it brings us to the place where we must have negro juries for negro criminals and white juries for white criminals." That this is not so may be seen from a brief statement of the case. A negro accused of murder was indicted, tried, and convicted in Alabama. His counsel moved that the indictment be quashed, on the ground that negroes, because, first, of their race and color, and, secondly, because of their being disfranchised, had been excluded from the Grand Jury which had indicted his client. The State court refused to grant the motion because it held that the reference to disfranchisement was irrelevant and therefore made the motion prolix. A motion which is unnecessarily prolix, irrelevant, or frivolous may, according to the Civil Code of Alabama, be stricken out at the demand of the adverse party. The matter was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. By the decision of last week the Court affirms that it has jurisdiction in the matter, and declares that the motion was not "prolix," and that the reference to disfranchisement was not irrelevant. It remands the case to the State Court for further proceedings. The decision is therefore merely that reference to laws disfranchising negroes is admissible as stating motives for the exclusion of blacks from the jury, "which, however mistaken, if proved, tended to show that the blacks were excluded on account of their race, as part of a scheme to keep them from having any part in the administration of the government or of the law." The Court, it should be said, indicated its position on the merit of the motion to quash the indictment by quoting a previous judgment, delivered by Mr. Justice Gray:

> Whenever, by any action of a State, whether through its legislature, through its courts, or through its executive or administrative officers, all persons of the African race are excluded, solely because of their race or color, from serving as grand jurors in the criminal prosecution of a person of the African race, the equal protection of the laws is denied to him, contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Now that the State Court cannot escape responsibility for deciding the motion on its merits, it will be obliged to quash the indictment if it is shown that negroes

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were excluded from the Grand Jury on account of their race. This, however, does not mean that a negro may not be indicted by a white jury, but simply that he shall not legally be indicted by a jury deliberately and unconstitutionally confined to the white race.

❀

Governor Vardaman on Negro Education

In his inaugural address last week Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, gave a prominent place to the views on negro education which he emphasized in his appeal last August to the voters of his State when he was before them as a candidate for office. He would have the Legislature "submit to the people a proposition to amend the Constitution so as to give the Legislature unrestricted authority in dealing with the public-school question." This means that he would empower the Legislature to provide that taxes paid by the whites should be used solely for the education of white children, and only the taxes paid by negroes used for the negro schools. He devotes much of his address to emphasizing the need of developing the public schools. "The first duty of the State," he says, "is to provide schools—improve facilities for the instruction of the masses in the rudiments of an education—especially those of her citizens who live in the country districts." But, he adds, "thus far what I have said on the subject of education has been with reference solely to the white children." Negro education, he declares, has produced "disappointing results," and he quotes statistics which he alleges show that with increase in negro literacy there has been an increase in negro crime. "If, after forty years of earnest effort, and the expenditure of fabulous sums of money to educate his [the negro's] head, we have only succeeded in making a criminal of him, and impairing his usefulness and efficiency as a laborer, wisdom would suggest that we make another experiment and see if we cannot improve him by educating his hand and his heart." The theory on which he bases his argument is a belief in the "profound, God-stamped, time-fixed, and unalterable incompetency of the negro for citizenship in a white man's country." "God Almighty," he says, "created the negro for a menial—he is essentially a servant. . . . The white man will not, and should not, share sovereignty and dominion with him." This is the ground for Major Vardaman's proposal to refuse negroes participation in the common schools of the State. It should be recognized that these are the opinions of one man, not of the people of Mississippi. It is true that Major Vardaman made his canvass largely upon this issue; but the primary system of Mississippi is such that a candidate can go before the people without subscribing to a definite platform. There are many voters in Mississippi who cast their ballots for Major Vardaman not because but in spite of his views on negro education.

❀

Negro Education and Negro Crime

It is hardly necessary to point out that Governor Vardaman's proposition is in direct contravention of the principles upon which the American public-school system is based. That system depends for its very existence on the doctrine that in educating its children a democracy shall know no difference between rich and poor, between the weak and the strong; that the duty of the taxpayer is toward not merely his own children, but toward the children of the whole commonwealth. It is also in direct contravention of the principle which is beneath every kind of popular government, that such government should by no act place before any citizen or any class of citizens an obstacle to the highest development. If it is true that the form of education which has been in vogue develops criminals, that fact makes it imperative that the form of education should be improved. This Governor Vardaman hints when he speaks of educating "hand and heart," and of laying "a moral substratum upon which to build;" but the method which he proposes would lay no moral substratum, and would deprive the negro not only of education of the head, but of the hand and heart as well. The figures, moreover, which Governor Var-

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daman quotes as conclusive evidence that the public-school education for the negro has created negro criminals are incomplete and therefore misleading. The 1890 census report showed that of negro criminals only $38\frac{88}{100}$ per cent. were able to read and write, while $42\frac{90}{100}$ per cent. of the entire negro population was literate. Mr. Clarence H. Poe, editor of the "Progressive Farmer," Raleigh, North Carolina, has sent us the facts which he has ascertained from the superintendents of various Southern State prisons. From Governor Vardaman's own State of Mississippi, where in 1890 $60\frac{9}{10}$ per cent. and in 1900 less than 50 per cent. of the colored population was illiterate, the official who sends the report writes as follows: "There are about 450 negro convicts in the Mississippi penitentiary; about half are wholly illiterate. Of the other half, less than 10 per cent. have anything like a fair education." In other words, in this very State, where negro education is pronounced a failure, the literate negroes furnish a smaller proportion of criminals than the illiterate, and not even those literate negro criminals are really fairly educated. Similar testimony comes from other States. In North Carolina the illiterate negroes of the State furnished 40 per cent. more criminals, according to numbers, than the negroes who could both read and write. In South Carolina, where the census of 1890 gives the negro literates as constituting $47\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. of the entire race in the State, the penitentiary superintendent estimates that only 25 per cent. can both read and write. In Georgia more than 60 per cent. of the negro convicts are illiterate, while of the total negro population only $47\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. is illiterate. In Alabama the illiterates among the negro criminals are reported as about 70 per cent., while the illiteracy of the total colored population is only $57\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. This means that in that State the negroes who cannot read and write furnish about 30 per cent. more criminals, in round numbers, than the negroes who have had school advantages. It is to be remembered that the figures for illiteracy now are not quite so bad as they were ten years ago; and therefore the figures quoted do not make the facts in confutation of Governor Vardaman's theories appear as strong as they really are. There is no doubt that the common schools for negroes sorely need improvement; but even as they are, it is clear that these schools are factors for law, order, and morality.

❀

Railroad Abuses and Public Opinion

What a united and vigorous public opinion may do in regulating the relations between public service corporations and the people is well illustrated by a recent lively controversy between the Erie Railroad and its passenger patrons in this city. During several days of unusually cold and severe weather, following a moderate snow-storm about two weeks ago, the suburban service of the Erie road practically collapsed. There are, it is said, about twenty-five thousand commuters who use the Erie Railroad in traveling between their homes in New Jersey and New York City daily. These passengers are workingmen, tradesmen, merchants, professional men, and clerks, and it is absolutely essential not only for their comfort but for the maintenance of their business that they should be able to depend upon reaching their offices and other places of work at regular hours. But during the period to which reference has been made the regular schedule of trains was practically abandoned, and those trains which did run were crowded to the doors, and were from one to three hours behind time in covering a distance of twenty miles. The passengers, in their not unnatural irritation, wrote to the newspapers, and finally the President of the railroad, Mr. B. F. Underwood, replied to the complaints in a letter to the New York "Evening Post." In this letter he used the following language:

> The suburbanite, when he has a grievance, is prone to rush into print and anonymously blackguard the management of his particular road. It does him a great deal of good and it has no effect on the officers of the company, who are certainly doing all in their power to improve the service.

The effect of this very impolitic language was electrical. More letters of com-

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plaint than ever reached the newspapers, and indignation mass-meetings were held at several points on the various suburban divisions of the road, of which there are in fact five, all converging in one terminal at Jersey City. Mr. Underwood's uncalled-for use of the opprobrious term "blackguard" served as a spark to kindle a very large fire—a fire which seems to have warmed the officials to the point of effecting some immediate and needed reforms, in spite of the railway president's statement that complaints have no "effect on the officers of the company."

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The Need of Government Regulation

The discomfort and trials of the Erie passengers, although they were really very great, are only of local interest, but the attitude assumed by some great railroad officials, as illustrated by Mr. Underwood's letter, is of National import and significance. The Erie Railroad incident—for it is merely an incident in the railroad history of the country—has fortified the belief of the public at large that our great railroads need vigorous Governmental regulation. This, of course, they may receive by Federal and State law. Our purpose in reporting these facts to our readers is to urge them, in whatever State they may live, not to relinquish their demands upon and watchfulness of their legislators with regard to the legislative relation between the lawmaking body and the railways. Most of the States now have a State Railroad Commission. It is, however, a significant fact that New Jersey, which is one of the most important railroad States in the country, does not maintain such a State Commission. Whether this is due to the interest of the great railroads passing through it and terminating in it, or to the indifference of the public itself, it is not for us to say. We content ourselves here with simply calling attention to a condition which exists. Several great trunk lines have their terminals in the State of New Jersey—the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Lehigh Valley, the Erie, the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western, and the West Shore. Persistent and vigorous public opinion has just compelled the Erie Railroad to take better care of its suburban passengers. The same public opinion in New Jersey can bring about the creation of a State Railroad Commission if the people really want it. Such a Commission really constitutes a popular court for receiving the complaints of shippers and passengers, and for putting into effect reforms such as the abolition of grade crossings, the building of new stations, and the modifying of train schedules to meet actual needs. But it must be remembered that the commercial and financial interests of the railroads are constant and pressing. It is, for example, believed by those who are best informed that the deterioration in the equipment and operation of the Erie Railroad Company is not so much due to the inefficiency of the operating officials as to the pressure of economy brought to bear upon them by those in financial control of the company, who, during the very week when the passengers were suffering serious loss and inconvenience, declared for the stockholders the largest dividend on the first preferred stock that has been paid for many years. This conflict between the stockholders and the public is a never-ending one, and no State Commission will be or can be efficient unless it is supported by an intelligent, courageous, and tireless public sentiment.

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Professor Woolsey on the Panama Question: His Conclusions

If our readers desire to see the ablest legal presentation of the case for Colombia and against the action of the United States Government in Panama, they will find it in an article by Professor Theodore S. Woolsey, of Yale University, in the January number of the "Green Bag," a legal journal published in Boston. It would be impossible for us in a paragraph either to present or adequately to criticise this article; but for the information of our readers we report here Professor Woolsey's conclusions in his own words:

(1) The hasty recognition of a new State in Panama was not in accordance with the law of nations.

(2) To justify it by the Treaty of 1846

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requires a new and forced construction of that instrument.

(3) To prevent Colombia's coercion of Panama is an act of war.

(4) The "man in the street's" verdict, that our smart politics served Colombia right, disregards law, sets a dangerous precedent, detracts from the National dignity, and may injure our influence and trade amongst the Latin-American States.

(5) Our duty was and is to let Colombia recover Panama if she can; our policy, to use her troubles to get favorable canal action from the rightful sovereign.

(6) Our recognition, if persisted in, makes of Panama a treaty-making agent, but for ourselves only.

(7) The canal treaty, negotiated and ratified by the Junta, with no constitutional authority or other authorization, is of doubtful validity, and the defect will need to be subsequently cured.

As this is the clearest and best-defined statement of the legal position assumed by the critics of the Administration, so it is the most radical statement of the policy which the opponents of the present Panama treaty would have the country pursue. For this reason we give it to our readers, despite our announced purpose not to continue in our columns the discussion of the history of our Government's action in Panama. Our readers should remember, however, that other authorities quite as eminent in international law take an opposite view.

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Professor Woolsey on the Panama Question: The Outlook's Estimate

Without discussing Professor Woolsey's propositions in detail, it must suffice here to say that they appear to us to be academic rather than vital. (1) They assume that international law is like domestic law, and that unquestioning obedience to it is a sacred duty. In fact, domestic law is the expressed will of the sovereign State, whether uttered by legislative enactment, judicial interpretation, or executive decree, and obedience of the citizen is ordinarily a duty until the sovereign act can be changed in a lawful and regular manner. International law is no such act of a sovereign authority, and involves no obligation of obedience. It is simply the previous custom of nations, and one ordinary way of changing it is for one nation to depart from it and see if other nations will follow its example. This international custom is sometimes founded on a sense of justice, but quite as much on national convenience, and is often disregarded at the demand of either humanity or national self-interest. Thus, it is not the custom of one nation to interfere in the domestic affairs of another nation, and this is international law; but Europe has frequently interfered with the affairs of Turkey because humanity and the interest of European States called for such interference. The question as to Panama is not whether the action of the Administration in the extraordinary circumstances there existing was in accordance with the custom of nations in ordinary circumstances, but whether humanity, National self-interest, and international well-being combined to make the action both expedient and just. (2) Proposition 5 appears to us to ignore the fact that the American Nation is a Person and is bound by the action of its executive. If an individual sovereign, say the Czar of Russia, had recognized Panama, forbidden Colombian troops to land upon its soil, and promised it protection, and then, when not only the people of Panama but the other civilized nations had acted upon his pledge, he had rescinded his promise, withdrawn his protection, and abandoned the Panamese to a devastating war by a power which has always shown itself unscrupulous and cruel, the whole civilized world would have condemned the act as one of singular dishonor. It would be not less dishonorable if the American people were to pursue such a course of tergiversation. They are bound by the official acts of their Chief Executive. If he has done wrong, damages should be paid to the wronged party; but no Government can be just or honorable which through its authorized agents makes pledges, only to break them when others have acted upon their faith in them. In the judgment of The Outlook, Professor Woolsey's conclusions can stand neither the test of international law nor of national ethics.

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Evading a State Constitution

One of the most important provisions of the "home-rule amendment" to their State Constitution, which

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the people of Colorado adopted a year ago by a vote of 60,000 to 26,000, was a provision that the city of Denver should have power to condemn, purchase, and operate any of their municipal franchises—water, light, transportation, heating, etc.—and issue bonds to pay for the same whenever this bond issue had received the approval of a majority of the "taxpaying electors." This provision, when incorporated within the State Constitution, seemed to insure that the taxpayers of Denver could at any time deal with their municipal monopolies as they saw fit; but during the present month the Charter Convention now sitting in Denver had reported to it by the chairman of the committee in charge of the matter a provision so defining the method by which the city might exercise its new power as to prevent its exercise save in times of great public excitement. By the provision reported the city government could not purchase a monopoly franchise even if the owners wished to sell it, unless one-quarter of the persons owning real estate had previously petitioned for such purchase; and not only might the Mayor absolutely block any action by the Council, but the entire city government, even if a unit in favor of the purchase, could not propose the issue of bonds that would be a lien on anything except the property purchased. The net earnings from this purchase, it was stipulated, must always be sufficient to meet not only interest charges, but sinking-fund charges as well. It is easy to perceive that such bonds would not be attractive to investors, and could be sold only at a heavy discount from the price which the ordinary bonds of the city command. Fortunately, the Charter Convention revolted against the proposal of its committee—one member, who individually opposes city ownership of monopolies, declaring that he could not vote for this provision without proving false to his oath to support the State Constitution. The outcome of the debate has been to center public attention upon the means proposed by the Convention to carry into effect the new constitutional provision, and the prospect is that the crucial clause of the new charter will be satisfactory to a majority of the people. But the incident illustrates again the truth that eternal vigilance is the price of industrial as well as political liberty.

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Excise Proposals in New York

Three measures have been or are about to be introduced into the New York Legislature relating to the excise question: (1) A bill recommended by District Attorney Jerome, providing for Sunday opening of the saloons in New York during certain hours; (2) a bill providing for the reference of the question whether there shall be any Sunday opening in New York to the people of the city, with some provision allowing for difference of regulation in different parts of the city by a local board constituted for that purpose; (3) a bill similar to that introduced last year, taking away from the local communities their present right to prohibit the licensing of hotels. There is almost no possibility that the first bill will receive favorable consideration in the Legislature. It has not received, so far as we can learn, support from either Democratic or Republican leaders. It proposes to provide for the opening of saloons on Sunday in New York, without ascertaining whether New York wishes open saloons on Sunday. It violates the principle of home rule on the alleged ground that the Sunday law cannot be enforced. What the prospects are of the second proposition we do not know. That it could be passed, if the citizens of New York were practically agreed in asking for it, is probable. That such a change in the law could be made as would give local option to all the cities, including New York, if all the cities were united in demanding it, is almost certain. There is almost no reason why the cities should not have the same local option which the rural communities now possess, and under local option, as they now possess it, it is possible for any rural community to prohibit all sale of liquor, or to allow the sale of liquor in the week and prohibit it on Sunday. The third measure, which aims to deprive rural communities of the local option which they now possess, ought

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never to go out of committee. It should be perfectly distinctly understood that the effect of this law, whatever its object may be, is to provide open saloons Sunday and week day throughout the entire State of New York—saloons which, in many cases, would have attached to them houses for the encouragement of forms of vice which are worse than drunkenness.

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Unification of Education in New York State

We have already reported to our readers the plan proposed for the unification of education in this State, by reducing the Board of Regents to nine, abolishing the life tenure, giving to them practical educational control of the entire educational system of the State, and providing that the executive officer corresponding to the present State Superintendent of Education shall be elected by them, and hold office at their pleasure. A bill has now been introduced into the Legislature embodying this plan, with one grave exception, which is that the Legislature, not the Regents, shall name the first Commissioner of Education. This modification seems to us seriously to impair the value and efficiency of the plan. There are two essential things to be sought in any change of the educational system of this State: first, that the whole system shall be put under one competent head; second, that this head shall be entirely free from political partisanship. The only way to secure the first is by making the Board of Regents the head, because the Board of Regents is a constitutional body. Moreover, the Board of Regents may be composed of educational experts, while in the nature of the case the Legislature cannot be composed of educational experts. The only way to keep the educational system of the State out of politics is to have the Superintendent of Education elected by the Board of Regents, and subject to its direction. If he is elected by the Legislature, he will necessarily be more or less a political official, and he will be necessarily more or less under a divided control. The fact that the bill provides that the "Commissioner of Education and all successors in office shall serve during the pleasure of the Board of Regents, and all vacancies in the office of Commissioner of Education shall be filled by appointment by the Board of Regents," does not prevent the evil of introducing partisan politics into the selection of the first Commissioner. If a change is to be made in the educational system of the State, it is important that it be such as to avoid the evils of the present system. If all the friends of education would push for the adoption of such a plan as was outlined in The Outlook for January 16, we believe it would be carried by the Legislature, and the educational system of the State entirely and forever relieved from the divided authority and the political influence which have operated against it in the past.

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The Consumers' League

The annual meeting of the New York Consumers' League, held last week, bore witness to a useful year's work by the League, the object of which is to bring home to the consumer responsibility for conditions in shop and factory, and to better the lot of the workers. Conditions are steadily improving in stores already on the "white list," and others are being added as fast as they conform to the requirements. This winter special attention has been given to urging early holiday shopping. Placards were posted in railway stations and distributed throughout the city, requesting the public to shop before five o'clock in order to help the early-closing movement, and to do all Christmas shopping before the middle of December. Many packages were bought and delivered three weeks before Christmas, marked "Not to be opened until Christmas." By this simple forethought the strain and fatigue of the Christmas "rush" may be spared those who feel it most, and such tragedies be avoided as that of a year ago, when a lad who had been delivering packages until midnight on Christmas Eve, too exhausted to go home, threw himself down in his wagon and drew a horse-blanket over him. He was found there, Christmas morning, frozen to death. A list of twenty-two violations of the State

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law restricting the hours of labor for women and children to sixty hours a week has been sent to the Governor, and numerous complaints have been brought to the attention of the Board of Health, among them the case of a cigar factory in which the girls use their tongues to fasten the labels around the cigars. One of these girls is suffering from tuberculosis. The Board of Health is considering the recommendation that sponges be provided, for the sake both of employees and consumers. Mrs. Florence Kelly, the National Secretary, whose wise and vigorous action is being directed against the sweating system, told of two children, one four years old, the other five who were taken out of the kindergarten and set at work by their family winding green tissue-paper around pieces of wire, to furnish the stems for the artificial flowers their family is engaged in making. The work is so simple that even babies can do it, and the children sit on the floor and work for many hours. The truant officer cannot help them, because they are not yet of school age. The factory inspector cannot interfere, because the children are paid no wages, and so, technically, are not employed, and the family has a factory license. Twenty-three thousand groups of workers in the tenement-houses of New York are licensed to manufacture, and no possible staff of inspectors can enforce laws among such a number. The League feels that the next step to be taken is to forbid the granting of licenses to these factory groups unless the records show that the house is in good sanitary condition and no occupant of the house has any communicable disease. So few tenements could meet these requirements that were such a law on the books, and enforced, the tenement sweat-shops would practically come to an end.

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George Francis Train

The line that separates insanity pure and simple from excessive eccentricity is a fine one, and it might be hard to decide upon which side to place the singular personality of George Francis Train, who was wont at one time to call himself the sanest man alive, at others the greatest "crank" in the world. The mere fact that he did recognize his own megalomania or exuberant egotism shows conclusively that his mind had its sane side. No one can read his remarkable autobiography, a fair-sized book dictated in thirty-six hours, it is said, without admitting that in some points he was, as he was fond of asserting, ahead of his times. A condensed autobiography, "boiled down in two hundred words," asserts among other things that he had supported himself since babyhood, had been a farmer at fourteen, was at twenty manager of a great shipping firm with an income of $10,000, built famous clipper ships, started forty clippers to California in '49, introduced the street railway into England, built the first Pacific Railway, organized the first Trust, the Crédit Mobilier, owned 5,000 lots in Omaha now worth thirty millions, organized the French Commune, three times made the shortest record trip around the globe, and had been "fifteen times in jail without a crime." With all allowance for egotistical exaggeration, there is still some truth in his characterization of himself as "reformer, agitator, revolutionist, evolutionist, psychologist, financier, builder of railroads, linguist, and globe-trotter." A student of psychology can easily find in the autobiography the time when intolerable egotism gained ascendency over what was really a genius for audacious and large undertakings. Every one knows of Mr. Train's vagaries of late years—his absurd self-nomination for the Presidency (a delusion of imagined political importance held also by Daniel Pratt, the "Great American Traveler," the sport of a generation of college boys, and a "crank" who resembled Train in some ways without his touch of genius); his storing up of psychic force by refusing for years to talk to adults or to let any one touch him (he used solemnly to shake hands with himself on being introduced); his custom of sitting bareheaded in Madison Square, with his friends the children and the birds; and his residence in the Mills Hotel in a twenty-cent room, although relatives were always glad to make a home for him—he used to say that he loved to be with

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poor people because they told the truth and were honest. The dedication to his autobiography shows George Francis Train at his best: "To the children and to the children's children in this and all lands who love and believe in me because they know I love and believe in them."

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Professor Von Holst

Professor Hermann Eduard Von Holst, who died at Freiburg, Germany, last week, was at the head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago from 1892 to 1900. Born in Livonia, the son of a poor clergyman, he was educated at the Universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg, and became a tutor in St. Petersburg in 1866, but was ordered to leave Russia because of sentiments expressed in a political article which displeased the authorities. He came to this country in 1867 as a steerage passenger, and six years later, in the first volume of his "Constitutional History of the United States," he declared that on his arrival in this country one of the first things he did was to make his declaration of intention to become a citizen, and that he "felt with the people of the United States before he began to study them or their institutions." Having received a call to the chair of history in the University of Strasburg, he returned to Europe in 1871, and, later, became a member of the teaching body of the University of Freiburg. He was recalled to the United States in 1892 to take up the important work offered him at the University of Chicago, from which he was retired on a pension in 1900. Dr. Von Holst has held a prominent place among writers on American history and among teachers ever since his earliest connection with the University of Chicago. His "Constitutional History of the United States" in seven volumes is an authority in its department, and is far and away the most extensive and elaborate work on this subject. Among other books from his hand are "Constitutional Law in the United States," "Life of John Brown," "John C. Calhoun," and "The French Revolution Tested by Mirabeau's Career."

Dr. Charles B. Spahr

With this issue Dr. Charles B. Spahr withdraws from the editorial staff of The Outlook, to become the editor-in-chief of "Current Literature." The Outlook reluctantly accepts his decision to leave its staff, and would gladly have persuaded him to remain if that had been possible.

Dr. Spahr is a native of Ohio, was graduated from Amherst College in 1881, studied abroad in Leipsic, and took his degree of Ph.D. at Columbia University, where he later lectured for three or four years. His editorial experience has not been confined to The Outlook; he was for some time an editorial writer on the "Commercial Advertiser." Dr. Spahr became a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook in 1886. Since that date he has been continuously one of its editors. He brought to the service of this journal and its readers an expert knowledge in the field of economics, practical ability in applying that knowledge to current events, an inspiring and catholic sympathy for his fellow-men, especially for the poor and the oppressed, carefully considered convictions founded on a passionate devotion to the truth as he sees the truth, and the power of clear statement and effective marshaling of facts and figures in the interpretation and maintenance of these convictions. Always in sympathy with the animating spirit and essential purpose of The Outlook, he has differed with it upon some questions of public policy, and this has materially aided us in our endeavor to give to our readers sympathetic report and interpretation of views and opinions which we all the more wished to represent accurately and impartially because we were controverting them. His withdrawal for the purpose of directing the policy and controlling the utterances of another periodical will involve a distinct editorial loss to the readers of The Outlook, as it will involve a very real personal loss to those who have been associated with him. But we are confident that "Current Literature," under his direction and control, will receive a new inspiration and a new life, and that his editorial work

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will always be characterized by scholarly ability and inspired by a sincere and unselfish purpose to realize the highest ideals for society in the lives of his fellow-men.

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The Political Issues

The country has been waiting for some Democratic leader to tell it what is Democratic policy. Mr. Gorman has been trying to bring about the discomfiture of the Republican party, but has himself been discomfited. Mr. Olney and Mr. Hill have told us how very badly the Republican party has done, but have given no very definite information as to what the Democratic party proposes to do. The fact, if it be a fact, that A has made bad use of a power of attorney is not of itself sufficient reason for giving a power of attorney to B. The Democratic party asks for the control of the Nation for 1904–1908, and the people have a right to ask for a very clear and definite statement as to what the Democratic party would do if that control were given to it.

At last answers are forthcoming. Mr. Williams, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Bryan, the Democratic leader in the Middle West, have both answered this question—Mr. Williams by an article in "Everybody's Magazine," Mr. Bryan by a speech in Lincoln, Nebraska. There is no reason to suppose that their answers are not wholly independent. The fact that the two men in the main agree indicates that they represent their party. These utterances are, therefore, significant of more than mere individual opinion. Both utterances appear to us, in constructiveness of view and definiteness of statement, utterances of statesmen rather than of politicians—that is, of men who care more for great principles than for immediate victory.

They are both silent on the race question. If their silence means, as we presume it does, that in their judgment the race question is not a political question, that it is to be settled, not by elections, State or Federal, but by a general and gradual educational development, The Outlook agrees with them. The negro has been too long the football of politicians. Whether he has been kicked toward the Republican goal or the Democratic goal does not much matter; in either case he has been used only to win a victory which has brought to him no advantage. He suffered rather more under Republican reconstruction measures than he is suffering now under Democratic reconstruction measures. We hope and trust that the significant silence of Mr. Williams and Mr. Bryan, one a Southern, the other a Western man, indicates that neither the South nor the West is inclined to follow Mr. Gorman in his attempt to stir up a race war.

Mr. Williams is equally silent on the silver question. Mr. Bryan is not. He says:

> Shall we abandon our advocacy of bimetallism in order to conciliate those who defeated the party in former campaigns? Never. Some phase of the money question is always before Congress, and no one can predict when the coinage phase of the money question will again become acute. No reform of any kind would be possible with the money-changer in control of the party.

In this Mr. Bryan seems to us to make a serious mistake. It ought to be possible for the Nation to settle a question. The question whether the United States would undertake to establish bimetallism without the co-operation of other nations was submitted to the American people in 1896, and they said No. It was submitted to them again in 1900, and they repeated the No more emphatically. They are now entitled to regard that question as settled, unless some new event should bring it up again. When a representative body has voted upon a proposition, the proposition can be reconsidered only on the motion of some one who voted with the majority. This is a reasonable rule, and is as applicable to the Nation as to the smaller representative body. Until some of those who voted against National bimetallism raise the question, it should not be raised. If Mr. Bryan cannot convince of his error a single representative of the Democratic party who voted for the gold standard in 1900, it is idle for him to expect that he can convince of their error the very large popular

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majority by which he and his doctrines were defeated.

The living issues for 1904 are Tariffs, Trusts, and Foreign Policy. On these issues Mr. Williams and Mr. Bryan are agreed: probably in as exact agreement as can be expected in two independent statements of the same faith. We accept as the representative of both the statement of Mr. Williams, partly because it is written and therefore more to be relied upon than a newspaper report of Mr. Bryan's speech, partly because it is somewhat more clear cut and definite than the report of Mr. Bryan's speech upon which we should have to rely. Mr. Williams thus defines "What Democracy Now Stands For:"

The two great parties are fundamentally divided, as Jefferson and Hamilton were. The Democratic party is founded upon the principle of equality of opportunity and equality of burdens. It is therefore opposed to protectionism as morally wrong, a prostitution of government to private ends. Since the income tax has been decided to be unconstitutional, free trade is impossible. The goal is tariff for revenue only. But while this goal should be kept steadily in view, the friends of tariff reform would not strike down instantly and in a revolutionary way the protective system. Tariff revision, by a gradual process, and involving reciprocal trade agreements with other nations, is the method; tariff for revenue only the end.

The same principle of equality of opportunity and equality of burden should be applied in what may roughly be called anti-trust legislation. Tariff on trust-made goods sold cheaper abroad than at home should be abolished; railroad rebates to favored customers prevented; the power of the Inter-State Commerce Commission should be increased; the "child's play of maintaining a rate decided excessive by the Inter-State Commerce Commission during the pendency of railroad-instigated litigation would also cease;" and the watering of stocks and consequent cheating of the innocent should be prevented.

As to the Philippines, they ought not to be retained as a part of the American body politic because their alien population cannot, with safety to our rule, be given equal opportunities and subjected to only equal burdens. But if they are retained they should have equal opportunities and equal burdens, and to this end should have the benefits of free trade with the rest of the United States. As to the Isthmian canal question, Nicaragua would have been the better route, but the Democracy is willing to take a canal at Panama because it cannot get the other, and "the party is not going to permit itself to be thrown by its enemies into an anti-canal attitude." [Query: Is Senator Gorman one of these enemies?] But it is not responsible for and it will not condone "the sin and unscrupulousness" of what the Republican Administration has done in Panama, in "disregard of international law, rights of nations, and customs of civilization." "In recognizing 'accomplished facts,' we cannot, in the minds of just men anywhere, be held chargeable with the manner of their accomplishment."

Judging from this utterance, we are inclined to give Mr. Williams a front rank among Democratic statesmen. It is a good augury for the Democratic party that he and Mr. Bryan are in so near accord on fundamental National issues. If the Democratic party could get rid of all those among its leaders who really desire and work for special legislation giving inequality of opportunities and imposing inequality of burdens, it would be fortunate for itself and for the country.

But, as that party is now constituted, Mr. Williams represents, we fear, rather the ideals of the few than the convictions of the majority of its leaders. We cannot quite forget that when it was given power on a platform pledging it to a tariff for revenue only, it gave the country a tariff founded on no principle, unless it be one of special privileges; that when a Republican administration urged reciprocal trade arrangements with Cuba, it met stolid opposition from Democratic leaders in the Senate; that when it urged reducing the tariff between the Philippines and the United States, Democratic Senators, representing special

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interests, opposed it. And when we remember that the anti-trust law bears the name of one distinguished Republican Senator; that the Inter-State Commerce Commission Law was framed, and, despite much opposition, carried through Congress by another Republican Senator; that the Department of Commerce, organized for the purpose of compelling publicity and preventing stock-watering, was urged by a Republican Administration and enacted into law by a Republican Congress; that efficient legal proceedings taken to enforce the law against trusts have been taken under two successive Republican Administrations; and that, if the Democracy of Jefferson favors equality of opportunities and equalizing of burdens, it is also traditionally opposed to legislative or judicial interference with the natural course of events and the freedom of the person, whether individual or corporate, we are not clear that the regulation of trusts and the suppression of monopolies would be any more effectually accomplished under a Democratic than under a Republican Administration. Finally, when we read the history of what has been done under Judge Taft in the Philippines, by the establishment of civil law, the protection of the "little black folk" from the land-grabbers, the establishment of a public-school system, the solution of the perplexing friar land problem, the cultivation of a sentiment of nationalism, and the preliminary steps toward the creation of a representative government, and what he has tried to do toward securing a freer trade for this people with the United States, we find it difficult to conceive how any Democratic Administration could have done more to secure for them equal opportunities and protect them from the injustice of unequal burdens. In short, with much of the platform enunciated by Mr. Williams and Mr. Bryan The Outlook is in hearty sympathy; but at this writing the hope of accomplishing the results which they define as desirable appears to us greater under the administration of Roosevelt Republicans than under any that the Democratic party as now constituted is likely to offer to the country.

A Cloud of Witnesses

The best cure for pessimism is to look at conditions against the background of a century or two centuries; to set, as Emerson said, the week against the day, the month against the week, and the year against the month. It would be a service to humanity if some competent person would collect the impressions left by men of character and force in every age regarding the tendencies and prospects of their own time; for it would disclose the tendency of thoughtful men in all times to take despairing views of society, to believe that the age in which they lived showed marked signs of deterioration, and that society was on the way to destruction. These have often been the expressions of men who, as we look back to them, stand out as the leaders of progress, the centers of hope, the inspirers of great movements. Cardinal Newman held that the growth of tolerance, the wider and keener sympathy between men of all religious faiths and men of no faith, which is characteristic of the last fifty years, was in many ways a very unwholesome tendency; and sincere religious men have declared that it was better to have intensity of feeling, even when that feeling rose to the point of persecution, than to have the tolerance which comes from laxity and indifference. That is not, however, the true interpretation of that modern breadth of view which recognizes the validity of all sincere effort to live the true life; a tolerance based, not on indifference nor on the effacement of fundamental distinctions, but on that larger and wider acquaintance with one another which has compelled men to recognize the fact that saints are to be found in all religions, that good men exist in every civilization, and that there are certain interior ties which bind together the just and true of whatever racial descent or religious affiliation.

It carries one back a long way to find Mr. Gladstone writing of Mrs. Gaskell in 1829: "She said to me, 'Surely we cannot entertain a doubt as to the future condition of any person truly united to Christ by faith and love, whatever may be the faults of his opinion;'" and Mr.

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Gladstone adds, "Here she supplied me with the key to the whole question." For years, Mr. Stead tells us in his comment on Mr. Morley's biography, the great statesman had been oppressed by the belief that every Unitarian and probably every other non-Christian must, as a matter of course, be lost forever! This position has become incredible; it is no longer even thinkable; not because men have lost their faith in the Christian religion or because the intensity of their conviction of its supreme authority has in any way diminished, but because they have come to know so much more of the world, to take a so much broader view of human history, to discern the presence of the Spirit in all wholesome activities, to recognize the manifestation of the power of God in all fields of effort and of expression.

In striking contrast to this narrowness of the past, already incredible, may be placed the deed of the founder of the William Belden Noble Lectureship in Harvard University. "It is intended," says the founder of this lectureship in the deed of gift, "that the scope of the Lectures shall be as wide as the highest interests of humanity; . . . the Lectures may include philosophy, literature, art, poetry, the natural sciences, political economy, sociology, ethics, history both civil and ecclesiastical, as well as theology and the more direct interests of the religious life." This conception of religion, which makes it synonymous with the spiritual attitude of man towards all the relations of life, recognizes the presence of God in all human activities, asserts the integrity of humanity in all its greater faculties and qualities, and finds the divine purpose in art and science as truly as in theology, is one of the noblest gains of modern times, one of the finest fruits of the sowing of the great spirits of the past.

A very happy interpretation of this noble scheme is the latest group of lectures on this foundation, delivered by the Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, on "Witnesses of the Light" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston)—a group of biographical studies of six great figures in the creative art of the world. He who thinks of the religious life of men without thinking of Dante, of Michelangelo, of Fichte, and of Ruskin omits a group of the noblest teachers and preachers the world has known. If any men have witnessed to the presence of God in all departments of human activity, and to the quality of revelation in all the great arts of expression, these men surely ought to be borne in continual remembrance. No greater artist than Dante has ever appeared in poetry; nor has any man ever shown the interior relation between a man's deed and the results that flow from it more convincingly than the creator of the "Inferno" and the "Purgatorio." In his last days, his great work accomplished, his name enrolled among the immortals, Michelangelo was continually thinking of Dante. "Would to heaven," he said, "that I were such as he, even at the price of such a fate! For his bitter exile and his virtue, I would exchange the most fortunate lot in the world." And when one spoke to him sorrowfully of the approaching end, he said: "No, it is nothing; for if life pleases us, death, being a work of the same Master, ought not to displease us."

Dr. Gladden quotes Fichte, one of the noblest of teachers: "To this am I called—to bear witness to the Truth: my life, my fortunes, are of little moment; the results of my life are of infinite moment. . . . If I should be hated and persecuted for her sake, if I should even meet death in her service, what wonderful thing is it I shall have done—what but that which I clearly ought to do?" And this noble spirit stands among the few who can bear without reproach the epitaph written upon his tomb in a churchyard in Berlin:

> "The teachers shall shine
> As the brightness of the firmament;
> And they that turn many to righteousness
> As the stars forever and ever."

Richard Wagner, composer of "Parsifal," that profound interpretation of one of the most beautiful myths of the Middle Ages, and that nobly sympathetic interpretation of one of the fundamental truths of Christianity, was not a saint. His temper, as Dr. Gladden reminds us, was stormy. He was destitute of tact; he was often oblivious of the interests of others; but how small are these faults

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compared with the noble consistency of his aim, the sublime persistence of his endeavor to realize the highest ideals of his own art, and his indomitable patience! Dr. Gladden quotes from his letters an expression of his intention in his interpretation of "Parsifal:" "The founder of the Christian religion was not wise; he was Divine. To believe in him is to imitate him and to seek union with him. In consequence of his atoning death everything which moves and breathes may know its Redeemer's goodness. Only life rooted in sympathy and expressed in action to the point of a complete destruction of self-will is Christian love."

And who has felt more profoundly the spiritual aspects of work, the spiritual responsibilities of men and women in modern society and especially in modern industrial conditions, than John Ruskin? "You cannot serve two masters," he said. "You must serve one or the other. If your work is first with you and your fee second, work is your master, and the Lord of work, who is God. But if your fee is first and your work second, fee is your master, and the Lord of fee, who is the Devil. . . . So there you have it in brief terms: Work first, you are God's servants; fee first, you are the fiend's. And it makes a difference, now and ever, believe me, whether you serve Him who has on his vesture and thigh written 'King of Kings,' and whose service is perfect freedom; or him on whose vesture and thigh the name is written, 'Slave of Slaves,' and whose service is perfect slavery."

Dr. Gladden's book is one of an increasing company of books which register the broader conception of religion that is filling the hearts and broadening the vision of the best men and women of our time, who are eager to find everywhere evidences of the presence of the Spirit of God, to recognize in all honest, aspiring effort the impulse of that spirit, and to discover in every man and woman, however faulty, who is trying to lead a better life, the possible kinship with the saints who have climbed the heights of spiritual achievement and whose names have become identified with the loftiest reaches of Christian character. Among those who bear witness to the reality of the spiritual life there are many whose light shines through many obscurations and who stand for great truths with much imperfection of character; but where is the perfect man? If men were to be judged solely by their achievements and not at all by their struggles, who could hope to stand in the awful light which streams from the divine judge of all men? The saints, who were once a little company, have become an unnumbered host, gathered out of all nations, calling themselves by all names, stating their faith in many forms, but all devoted to the service of God through the love of man.

❀

The Spectator

The Spectator has a dainty, sweet little girl friend, now twelve years old, who cannot remember when she did not have a baby brother to carry and rock and push about in the baby-carriage, the handle of which is now just the height of the little lady's shoulder. She recognizes symptoms of naughtiness and wards off the climax with the insight of a grandmother who has brought up two generations of babies. She coaxes refractory moods with a cunning and tactfulness that would put to shame many mothers who pride themselves on their mother skill. Her family live under the shadows of the elevated road. The living-room, charged for by the landlord as a basement, is a cellar, selected because of the advantage secured to the numerous small boys of the family by controlling the back yard, five feet deep, and the ready access to the street by way of the front cellar stairs. Here the dainty little lady loves and serves, watched by a mother scarcely any taller, who is most ambitious for her children's education. The little lady makes no mark as a scholar. She came home recently with that most deceitful of character records, a monthly report, whose cabalistic signs mark the measure of pride and happiness in so many homes. The little lady's conduct was perfect, but clearly, plainly written, beyond hope of misunderstanding, was "Deficient in Nature Study." "How can I help her?"

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queried the anxious, overworked mother, gazing in distress at the card in hand. The Spectator, in a spirit of sarcasm, advised that she take the child to the top of the steps and call her attention to the beautiful stretch of stone lawn in front of the house, then to the hedge of trucks at the roadside, and, above all, call her attention to the stately trunks of the elevated railroad pillars and the beautiful foliage that spread in unbroken line from their tops. The expression of care deepened on the mother's face as she interrupted: "I'm glad you said that; she asked me last night what 'foliage' was; she had it in her spelling lesson."

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The Spectator has a friend who is interested in a club the membership of which is made up of the wives and widows of skilled workingmen. At Thanksgiving, turkey and the natural seasonable accompaniments were given to some of the members whose lives were not running in the festive groove of the holiday season. The following week, at the meeting, comment was made on the high price of turkeys, when a member who is one of the most prosperous said, "I did not have turkey; I could not afford it." "Certainly not," was the response of another prosperous member, without evidence of feeling; "none but the rich and the poor had turkeys this year; only the rich could pay for them." A comment that is a volume on the social economics of the day.

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The Spectator has long been interested in the subject of humor. What is it? Is it a matter of mood? He has seen people laugh at causes that made others solemn, resentful, indignant. He remembers the shock he received the first time he saw "The Old Homestead," caused by the laugh that swept over the audience when the young man who had left the old farm to make his fortune in New York staggered across the stage, a part of a realistic stage picture. To the Spectator it was a peculiar sense of humor which could respond to such a scene. Recently the Spectator has had another revelation of the peculiarities of humor. The revealer is a nervous, high-strung, sandy-haired woman devoted to the mission church which is the source and the center of her social life, and in which she is a leader, interpreting the rich who support the mission to the poor who attend their ministrations. Entertainments crowd one another, and are accepted by the people as they accept the weather. It was immediately after one of these entertainments, when her mind was free from the thought of lemons, sugar, cake, or curtains, that this useful woman revealed her standard of humor. She had reviewed some of the entertainments provided for this people with an apparently omnivorous appetite for amusement but most discriminating as to pulpit teachings, as the procession of young men called to minister to their spiritual wants would testify. "I know what the people want; I've been here all my life," she said. No one else in the church could make that claim on that ground, and it usually silenced those who doubted. "I know what they want. Sometimes they're stupid and don't see points; that was the trouble last night. I have Irish blood in me; that gives me a sense of humor. Some people ain't got it, and they don't see points. I don't care for slight of hand. It makes me feel queer. I ain't sure it's right to have them things in a church. Funny things I like. Them moving pictures we had was fine. One was a man run over by a trolley car. A policeman pulled him by the leg; you could see just as plain; the policeman was pulling with all his might, when the man kicked him with his other leg, knocking him over, and then ran away. It was the funniest thing!" The recollection threw the woman into convulsions of laughter.

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The Spectator was condemned to a long ride on a foggy day in the trolley cars. The passengers were dull and stupid as the weather outside. Just as the gloom had penetrated the Spectator's mind his eyes caught this:

"If you have beauty, come I'll take it;
If you have none, come I'll make it."

The photographer who so happily sought trade was a benefactor. The gloom

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disappeared. The Spectator wondered for the balance of the journey in that car which service the photographer would render him if he sought his aid. The Spectator is still wondering! It was on the same journey that the car was delayed by a vender's cart on the back of which appeared in yellow letters on a bright green background: "The clock ticks: we don't." The Spectator has always rebelled at the wearing strain of house-cleaning. Relief came that day; he found "The Athletic House-cleaning Company," and a firm that has confidence in office-boys, for this sign swung from a large office building: "Wanted, a boy to tie up Jones Bros."

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One evening the Spectator was in a crowded Broadway car. He noticed standing on the back platform a shabbily dressed young man whose face indicated an enfeebled mind but retained the expression of childlike innocence. At the beginning of the journey downtown he tried to engage the conductor in conversation, but grew silent under the rebuff administered at each attempt. Each male passenger was greeted with a most cordial and welcoming smile, but no one responded. The young man turned his attention to the crowds on the sidewalk, and the Spectator forgot him until the car stopped where a crowd was waiting. Then the Spectator became conscious of unusual excitement outside the car. Suddenly the young man who had attracted the Spectator's attention dashed into the car from the front platform, exclaiming, "It's gone, I tell you! You've got to find it! You wouldn't let me stand with it; you made me put it there. Stop the car! You've got to find it!" The conductor pulled the bell and ordered the man off the car. The man, crying as a boy would cry, turned to the passengers in appeal: "I put the basket of clothes my mother washed and ironed on the front platform; the conductor made me. I was taking them home. The man out there," pointing to the motorman, "threw it off at Twelfth Street; I told him I wanted to get off there. I did not know it was Twelfth Street; I could not see. I got off now, and the clothes are gone. The man out there threw them off at Twelfth Street, he told me." The conductor laughed as though a huge joke had been perpetrated. "Get off," he exclaimed, as he stopped laughing. "I won't; I'll go with you till I find my basket. The people need their clothes, mother said so; that's why she sent them in the rain. She told me to be careful. What will mother do? She wanted the money." The conductor put his hand on the man's shoulder with the intent of ejecting him. As the conductor's hand closed on the protesting passenger's shoulder a ringing voice asked: "Has he paid his fare?" Taken by surprise, the conductor answered, "Yes." "What right have you to put him off? Attend to your business; ring off the car." The speaker was one of two young college men seated at the front end of the car. Cowed, the official, muttering, went to the back platform and rang the bell. One young man put his hand on the shabby shoulder, drawing the man down to the seat between the two. The other took out a note-book and asked questions in a still lower tone. If the voice broken by tears was raised, a gentle pressure on the owner's shoulder brought it down to a low tone. The conductor grew more and more uneasy. Coming into the car with an air of bravado, he asked, "Say, ain't that fellow going to get off?" With a look of contempt, the one who had spoken first responded; "No; us three fellows is goin' back with you to the stable to find that there basket." The manner and tone were so perfect an imitation of the conductor's, so clearly a contradiction of the speaker's natural tone, language, and manner, that the conductor slunk out of the door to the platform. The passengers smiled broadly. To the passenger opposite, who was leaving the car a few blocks below, the owner of the basket confidentially announced: "It's all right; they're going to get my basket before mother knows." There was a message by wireless telegraphy which reached the Spectator from the defenders opposite.

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The Social and Political Condition of Russia

By George Kennan

IN its possible influence upon the outcome of a long war with Japan, the social and political condition of Russia is hardly less important than her financial and economic status. The burdens imposed by modern warfare are so heavy, and the sacrifices that it demands are so great, that unless the population which furnishes the troops and pays the expenses is loyal, patriotic, and united in its support of the government and the war, there is great danger of internal disorder serious enough to weaken the national power, if not completely to break down the prestige and undermine the authority of the ruling class.

The autocratic form of Russia's administration makes her government less dependent upon the people than are the governments of constitutional and parliamentary countries; but, on the other hand, the bureaucracy, which practically rules Russia, has to deal with a strong popular feeling of discontent and hostility which does not exist elsewhere, and which a war is almost certain to intensify. In some parts of western Europe an unpopular and long-continued war might cause great national dissatisfaction, and might possibly give rise to a dangerous revolutionary movement; but such conditions would be consequences of the war and would not precede it. In Russia, however, the anti-government feeling is of long standing; it has already menaced the authority of the ruling class, if not the very existence of the State in its present form; and it will develop and grow more threatening as war adds new causes of discontent to those already present, and gives fresh intensity to the long-smoldering fire of revolutionary activity.

Popular dissatisfaction in Russia is based upon a great variety and an immense number of grievances, most of which are little known to the American reading public. Some of these grievances affect particular nationalities or racial components of the population, such as the Finns, the Armenians, the Poles, and the Jews; some bear most heavily upon particular social classes or groups, such as the peasants, the university students, the factory operatives, the journalists, and the members of the zemstvos; while some are directly related to the welfare and the happiness of the population as a whole. Anything like an adequate presentation of these grievances would fill a dozen numbers of The Outlook, if not a whole volume; but brief reference to a few of them may serve to show what reasons the Russian people have for discontent and disloyalty.

Take first, for example, the matter of personal security. It is the primary duty of every government to protect the persons and the property of its citizens. If it does not give them some assurance that they shall not be arrested, imprisoned, flogged, or deprived of their property without due process of law, it fails in the most important and most fundamental of its obligations. To a large class of its people the Russian Government does not give such protection, and never has given it. Now, as in the past, its "politically untrustworthy" subjects may be arrested without a warrant, imprisoned without a trial, deprived of property without judicial procedure, and banished to remote parts of the country without even so much as a hearing.

This lack of personal security is felt as deeply in Russia as it would be in the United States. If the Secretary of the Interior in Washington, by and with the consent of the President, should suddenly suppress the New York "Evening Post" because he disapproved of its political "tendency," the owners or stockholders of that periodical would certainly think that they had a very serious and very substantial grievance; and yet that has happened in Russia, of late years, to the "Golos," the "Nedielia," the "Otechestvennia Zapiski," the "Moskofski Telegraf," and twenty-one other newspapers and magazines. Meanwhile, there have been inflicted on other

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periodicals five hundred and eighty-one administrative punishments less severe than absolute suppression, including suspensions that amount in the aggregate to forty-nine years and four months.(1) If the newspapers of the United States had been punished five hundred and eighty-one times with prohibition of street sales, deprivation of the right to print advertisements, etc., and had been administratively "held up" by the Secretary of the Interior for periods that amounted in the aggregate to nearly half a century, the Government certainly could not count on very enthusiastic support from the press either in an aggressive foreign war or in local disturbances to which such a war might give rise.

If, to take another illustration, Secretary Hitchcock, by and with the consent of President Roosevelt, should suddenly notify W. D. Howells, Richard Watson Gilder, George H. Putnam, Horace White, John B. McMaster, Professor Van Dyke, John Burroughs, and George B. Harvey that they must abandon their business, leave their homes, and live for three years under police surveillance in North Dakota, Oklahoma, or Alaska, these gentlemen and their friends—if they had no power to resist and no redress in the courts—would probably become revolutionists of a very active type; and yet their case would be no worse than that of twenty or thirty Russian authors, editors, and publishers, of substantially the same social and literary class, who have been banished from St. Petersburg in the course of the past three years. Among them are Vorontsof, the political economist; Lessevitch, the philosopher; Annenski, the statistician; Panteleief and Kalmikova, two well-known publishers; Peter Struve, grandson of the famous astronomer; four members of the Russian Free Economic Society; Mr. Phillipof, editor of the "Scientific Review;" and two of the editors and the secretary of the suppressed periodical "Zhizn." In every case, the decree of banishment was pronounced by the Minister of the Interior without the observance of any form of judicial procedure, and in most cases without the assignment of any reason. The same fate may befall any citizen of Russia who happens to be regarded by the Minister of the Interior as "politically untrustworthy," or who renders himself obnoxious to the Government by his actions, his criticisms, or his expressions of opinion.

In its dealings with the peasants the Government manifests even less regard for justice and law than it shows in its treatment of the educated class. After the agrarian disorder in the province of Poltava, in the spring of 1902, the Governor, Belgardt, caused more than 400 peasants to be flogged with whips, each of the victims receiving from 120 to 170 blows.(2) For this form of punishment there was no warrant of law whatever. Most of the arrested peasants had behaved in a disorderly manner; many of them, doubtless, had been guilty of offenses described in the Russian penal code; but they were entitled to a hearing and a judicial trial, and Governor Belgardt had not the shadow of a right to flog them indiscriminately before they had been found guilty of the offenses charged against them.

On the 1st of May, 1902, Governor von Wahl caused to be flogged, in the same way, sixteen peasants—mostly factory operatives—who had taken part in a "labor-day" parade and demonstration in the city of Wilna.(2)

The disregard of justice and law shown in the administrative banishment of educated people, and the administrative flogging of peasants who have not been tried, is thoroughly characteristic of the present Russian Government, and, in one form or another, it is manifested almost daily in all parts of the Empire. It gives rise, of course, to a feeling of intense exasperation, and it has created a large class of malcontents who not only will refuse to give the Government loyal support in time of war, but will avail themselves of the first opportunity to work actively for its overthrow.

Lack of personal security, however, is only one of the Russian citizen's many grievances. He resents almost as deeply the authority given police officers to make searches in private houses without

[1] For references see list at end of article.

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legal warrant (in St. Petersburg 600 such searches are sometimes made in a single night); the virtual prohibition of all suits for damages against Government officials; the interference of the executive power with the courts; the withdrawal of large classes of cases from jury trial; the administrative punishment of accused persons whom the courts have acquitted; the hearing of important public cases with closed doors; the trial of political and other civil offenders by courts martial; the denial of the right of public assembly, as well as the right of collective petition; the universal system of espionage; the vexatious restriction of personal movement and freedom by means of the passport system; and, finally, the rigorous censorship of the press, which makes it almost impossible to criticise governmental action or freely to discuss public affairs.

Most of these grievances are due, primarily, to a desire and a determination on the part of the bureaucracy to control and regulate matters of public concern at its own discretion, and to treat the citizen as if he were a minor ward subject to the authority of a guardian. A Russian who had been a sufferer from this bureaucratic regulation once said bitterly, "In Russia nothing is permitted; everything is either ordered or forbidden." The Government compels peasants whose houses have burned down to wait months for official permission to rebuild; it reprimands citizens who unite in a joint telegram to the Minister of Public Instruction, on the ground that collective action of that kind is strictly forbidden; it will not allow school-teachers to give to the press any information with regard to schools, education, or the economic condition of the peasants; it prohibits everywhere public celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs; it will not permit university students to celebrate anything, nor to participate in public testimonials to esteemed persons; it draws up the programme for, and superintends the proceedings of, every convention of business men who meet to consider and discuss their own interests; it forbids town councils to give the name of Gogol, Pushkin, or Turgenieff to any of their newly established municipal schools; it arbitrarily closes the statistical bureaus of the zemstvos and burns their statistics; it suppresses, without process of law, such organizations as the "Russian Free Economic Society," the "Moscow Juridical Society," the St. Petersburg "Society for Furnishing Reading to the Poor and Sick," and the Elizavetgrad "Society for the Promotion of Literacy and Technical Knowledge;" it forbids the giving of an entertainment to be called a "Turgenieff Evening," on the novelist's birthday and in his native town; it will not permit the executive boards of the zemstvos to consult one another, nor to establish a periodical devoted to their collective interests; it has taken away from these organizations the right to care for the people in time of famine; and it has just stopped all the statistical work of the zemstvos in twelve provinces, and given governors discretionary power to stop it in twenty-two more.

Such "regulation" as this is manifestly oppressive and vexatious in the highest degree; and it touches so many interests and affects the lives of so many people that it has created a strong anti-government feeling in almost all classes of society, from the nobles to the peasants.

The general prevalence and the great intensity of this feeling are clearly shown in the recent revival of revolutionary activity in all parts of the Empire. Organized revolutionary groups or committees are now in existence in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkoff, Samara, Saratoff, Kherson, Tula, Tiflis, and more than twenty other cities and towns, and there is probably more *un*organized political dissatisfaction in all classes of society than there has been at any time before since 1881.

This fact, indeed, is recognized and admitted by the highest Russian officials. In April, 1902, the Ministry of Justice asked the Council of State for an extra appropriation of 229,000 rubles and an extra force of 79 procureurs (prosecuting officers), to enable it to deal effectively with the rapidly increasing number of political offenders. In an

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"explanatory memorandum" accompanying this request, the Minister of Justice says that the call for more money and more prosecutors is made on account of "the recent extraordinary development of the revolutionary propaganda among factory operatives, among students in the higher institutions of learning, and even among the peasants. . . . Scattered secret societies, which in the beginning had neither bond of union nor central organization, are now joining one another so as to form larger and larger groups, and in making these combinations they are laying aside their racial, religious, and other differences, in order to attain the one object which they all have in common, viz., a radical change in the existing form of government and a reformation or regeneration of the national life. . . . With the development of the revolutionary propaganda there has been an increase in the number of political cases and in the number of persons implicated therein. Information in the possession of the Ministry of Justice shows that under the provisions of the law relating to the maintenance of national order and public security, 5,748 persons were arrested in 1901, and 2,953 in the first fourteen weeks of 1902. . . . In the three years 1890–1892 the average annual number of revolutionary cases brought to final settlement was 126, and the average number of persons concerned therein was 369. In the last five years the average annual number of cases has increased to 341, and the average number of persons concerned therein to 1,546."

The Minister then gives statistics to show that in the first five years of the last decade the number of political offenders actually sentenced was 2,089; while in the second five-year period the number increased to 7,729. The arrests for political crime between January 1 and April 12, 1902, were 2,953, or at the rate of about 11,000 per year. These figures, the Minister says, show that "the number of cases of political crime, as well as the number of persons implicated therein, are increasing generally, and with incredible swiftness."(8)

But these facts, serious as they are, do not present the case in what, perhaps, is its most serious aspect. Political dissatisfaction seems now to be making progress, for the first time, in the Russian army. In the revolutionary outbreak of 1878–81 an army officer here and there was arrested and punished for political crime; but there was nothing like a revolutionary organization among the officers or in the ranks. Now, on the contrary, there is an "Army League" and an "Army Revolutionary Society;" printed addresses and appeals to officers and soldiers are found by the secret police in dozens of barracks and encampments; the Minister of War, General Kuropatkin, has issued a "secret" circular-letter of instruction to commanders of military districts (No. 54, January 31, 1903), directing them to take energetic measures to suppress the "criminal propaganda;" and a special division has been organized in the Chief Department of Military Justice for the trial of political cases.

A common soldier named Alexander Panferof, in the 238th reserve battalion, who gave the authorities information that enabled them to stop the "criminal propaganda" in one case, was specially thanked and complimented by the Grand Duke Sergei, Governor-General of Moscow, in "General Orders No. 48 of the Moscow Military District" (February 28, 1903); was presented with a suitable pecuniary reward for his loyalty; and was decorated with the cross of the high order of St. Anne. When a common soldier is rewarded in this way for merely doing his duty, it is perfectly evident that the Government fully recognizes the peril involved in the spread of revolutionary ideas in the army, and is holding out every possible inducement to officers and men to betray such of their comrades as have become infected.

The form that revolutionary activity is taking in the army may be shown by two or three extracts from appeals and addresses circulated by the "Army League" and the "Army Revolutionary Society." The "Army League" says: "We officers know only what is taught us in our military schools; and yet men like Colonel Volkof, for example, whose knowledge is confined exclusively to the

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direction and maneuvering of soldiers, are put at the head of whole provinces, with full power to decide thousands of questions relating to the zemstvos, the courts, and municipal institutions. Then, when people protest against this sort of thing, and demand personal security, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and political freedom, the Czar's Government rides them down with Cossack horses, shoots them, and convinces them with exile. This melancholy state of things is not new. It existed in France, in Germany, and in Italy until absolutism was forced to lay down its arms before the power and the justice of freedom. . . . Let us then unite, in the name of freedom and for the sake of our country, in overturning the Czardom that has outlived its time, and in demanding a constitution, to be framed by representatives of all classes of the people."

Still another military group, which calls itself a "League for Carrying on a Propaganda among the Troops," says: "The Russian muzhik groans everywhere under the burdens of intolerable taxation and chronic hunger; factory operatives groan everywhere after the labor of an eleven-hour working day; and every thinking person groans in his heart under the oppression of the bureaucracy and unlimited autocratic power. It is time that Russian officers should awake from their mental slumber and realize the disgraceful nature of the rôle that the autocracy compels them to play when it forces them to resist with arms every popular movement in the direction of political freedom and equality of human rights. It is time for Russian officers to know that the chief enemy of the fatherland is the autocratic government which prevents the social development of the people and the economic growth of the country."

If the revival of revolutionary activity is dangerous now, in time of peace, it might become far more perilous and threatening in the course of a long war. All of Russia's great wars have been followed either by insistent demands for internal reform or by revolutionary outbreaks. The struggle with Napoleon in the early part of the last century prepared the way for the famous "Decembrist" conspiracy; the Crimean War made apparent the necessity for the reforms of Alexander II.; and the Russo-Turkish War was immediately followed by the great revolutionary outbreak of 1878–81.

The reasons for this are manifest. In the first place, the strain of war shows clearly the corruption, the weakness, and the inefficiency of Russia's bureaucratic administration, and thus intensifies popular discontent; in the second place, burdens of taxation and economic distress that were barely tolerable in time of peace are so increased by war as to become absolutely *in*tolerable; and, in the third place, a badly conducted or unsuccessful war tends to weaken the power and break down the prestige of the autocracy, and thus gives its enemies a favorable opportunity to attack it.

What the attitude of the intelligent classes of Russia now is toward the war that seems to be impending we do not certainly know and cannot ascertain, because the press censorship prevents anything like free expression of public opinion. So far as it is possible to judge from the editorials in the "Russki Vedomosti" of Moscow and the "Osvobozhdenie" of Stuttgart, the Russian liberal party is opposed to war, for the reason that it would necessarily involve the sacrifice of interests in European Russia that outweigh any possible advantages to be gained in eastern Asia. The liberals think that the education of the Russian people and the improvement of their economic condition are much more important than the acquisition of additional territory on the coast of the Pacific.(4)

Even the conservatives and the supporters of the Government seem to regard the prospect of war with gloomy forebodings. Prince Meshcherski, for example, said recently in the "Grazhdanin:" "Have we any reason to expect that the war with Japan will have the effect of a beneficial thunder-storm in clearing the air and making possible a new and better future for Russia? I doubt it very much, because such a war will stop the regeneration of Russia's internal life which the people now expect.

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This may not be noticed at first, in the temporary exaltation of spirit that war causes; but afterward—no matter how brilliant the results attained—there will come a reaction and an economic decline that will lower the National spirit more than ever. Then, all the rivulets of depression and dissatisfaction will unite in a sea of general discouragement, which will make it infinitely more difficult to begin again the national regeneration that the war has stopped. A war with Japan, moreover, must excite particular apprehension, for the reason that, whatever its results may be, it will settle nothing. If we win, the Japanese will have to fight again; and if—which God forbid—the Japanese should be victorious, it would make another war a necessity for us, to say nothing of the fact that with the outbreak of war in the Far East will begin the swift reorganization of the armed forces of China."(5)

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The Negro Woman

I.—Social and Moral Decadence

By Eleanor Tayleur

THE most anomalous and portentous figure in America today is the negro woman. Little account has been taken of her in the discussion of the race problem, yet if the key to that dark riddle is ever found, hers must be the hand that first discovers it.

It is an axiom that no people can rise higher than their source. The measure of its womanhood is the measure of the potentialities of a race. If this be virtuous, clean of mind and body, filled with high ideals and noble aspirations, all things are possible to its sons. If, on the contrary, it be unchaste, diseased physically and morally, with groveling and material desires, the race is doomed, for death and decadence have set their seal upon it. Women mold the character of a people. It is eternally true that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. In the great crises of life the thing that determines the action of the great majority of men is not the code of ethics of their mature years, or the system of philosophy that they have reasoned out. It is the teaching that they imbibed at their mother's knee—it is the memory of old prayers they lisped in childhood, old songs and stories, a mother's kiss, a mother's tears that have crystallized into character, and that at the crucial moment decides their action for right or wrong, and whether they shall go forward or backward. Before a mother's influence political decrees are as empty and powerless as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, and even the education of books and schools falls back impotent and defeated. At the last it is the woman who bears the race who determines its destiny.

It is this that gives a somber interest to the negro woman, for she is the pivot upon which the great race question turns. It is her hand that rocks the cradle in which the little pickaninny sleeps; it is she who sweeps the cabin floor, and makes it a home that is clean and bright or else an abode of disease; it is she who bequeaths to the child that is bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, soundness of body and soul or else the tendencies that make it a moral and physical leper; it is her hand that sets the little feet about her knee on the road which they are to travel in life. All that the white woman is to the white race, the negro woman is to the black. Her influence is just as potent, and she is the dominant factor that must be reckoned with in every effort to help the negro.

In the Northern cities there are many, and in the South a few, negro women

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who in intelligence, nobility of character, and refinement would challenge comparison with any women in the world. These are exceptions, and it is not proposed to consider them here, but the great dark, helpless, hopeless mass of the women of their race as they are found leading their lawless and purposeless lives in the cane and cotton field, or herded together in the streets of the cities.

As she exists in the South to-day the negro woman is the Frankenstein product of civilization, a being created out of conditions of sectional hate and revenge, and set in motion by wild experimentalists who knew not what they did; and within the length and breadth of Christendom there is no other figure so forlorn and pathetic as she. Doubly cursed by her color and her sex, on her has fallen alike the heaviest burden of the negro and of womanhood. Shut out by her blood from the privileges of the white woman and by her sex from the opportunities of the negro man, she is the victim of every injustice of society, and she revenges herself upon it by striking at the very foundations of the political and social structure. She has always been a hapless sacrifice to the lust of man, and retribution has made of her a Nemesis who has forged the thunderbolts of the race question for the white man, and who stands a sinister figure behind the black man, forever dragging him downward.

No women in the world ever went through such a radical change as has taken place among the negro women since the Civil War. For them emancipation meant the severing of every association, habit, and custom of their lives, and the inauguration of a new heaven and a new earth; and the negro woman of to-day, in character and thought, in aspiration and ideal, is no more like the negro woman of ante-bellum days than if a thousand generations, instead of one or two, rolled between them. History records no change of the women of a whole race so rapid and so radical; and the sadly significant feature of this change is that it has been for the worse and not for the better.

Many explanations may be offered to account for the decadence of the negro woman. First and foremost is the abolition of the home; for woman's highest virtues, whatever her color or her race, are garden flowers that flourish best about her doorstep, and lacking this congenial soil they wither and die. Whatever the burdens and wrongs of slavery, and they were great and many, it at least gave the negro woman a home in which she was sure of food and warmth and privacy; and when within the four walls of her cabin, or her quarters in the city mansion, she was as truly and completely mistress of her home as the chatelaine of her castle. So much was the slave's unquestioned right; but now, when the negro must pay rent for the roof that shelters him, whole herds of them crowd together in a single room, like rabbits in a warren, without regard to age or sex or consanguinity. Under such conditions all privacy, or even decency, is impossible.

In the country the cabin may still be seen with the gourd vine trained above the door, with its beds covered with gay patchwork, with its floors scrubbed until they shine with glistening whiteness, and these homes furnish the great percentage of the respectable, thrifty, and industrious men and women of the negro race. In the cities the majority of negro women have no homes, but a room which they oftener than not share with strangers. The beds are unmade, the dishes unwashed, the floor unswept. Here children are born to be thrust out into the street as soon as possible to get them out of the way, and thus the mother and the child are deprived of the home influence that is one of the strongest powers for good in the world.

Another reason for the decadence of the negro woman is that she no longer has the uplift of close personal association with white women. Before the war the negro woman was brought into intimate contact with the refined and educated women of the dominant race. Essentially imitative as negroes are, they copied the manners and the morals of the mistress they served. Many a black woman was a grande dame who would have graced a court, and imbued with as high and lofty a sense of loyalty and fealty as any

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knight; and among the most cherished recollections of the old South are the memories of these women, between whom and their owners existed a bond of affection that only death could sever.

No such conditions prevail to-day, save in the rare instances when a family is fortunate enough to attach to itself some negress whose ideals and traditions were formed in the days of slavery, when, as foster-sister to some white child, or handmaiden to some white woman, she imbibed the preceipts of honor and honesty and duty that must alike guide both races. The modern negro woman has no such object-lesson in morality or morals or modesty, and she wants none. She hates the white woman with a hatred born of hopeless envy, and her most exquisite pleasure is in insulting her with childlike brutality. She does this in a thousand little puerile ways—by rudely jostling her in a crowd, by pushing her off the sidewalk, and—favorite method of all—by invariably speaking of her own race as "ladies and gentlemen" and the white as "men and women." Thus the announcement by your maid that a lady wishes to speak to you sends you down the back stairs to interview a dusky charwoman, while, when you are told that there is a strange woman downstairs, you prepare to receive your friend of a most aristocratic lineage and exquisite refinement. When the black woman imitates the white, she only imitates what is worst in her. She copies her extravagance in tawdry finery that is a grotesque exaggeration of fashion, she copies her independence in utter abandon of all restraints, she copies her vices and adds to them frills of her own, and it is as if one saw a vulgar picture ineffably coarsened by being reproduced in hideous and glaring colors that emphasized every unlovely detail.

Before the war the negro women also had the uplifting influence of honest work. They were taught the various branches of domestic labor, and had the pride in their work that comes from skillful craftsmanship. But the Aunt Dinahs, ample of girth, clad in clean cottonade, who boasted that they laid a heavy hand on the seasoning when they compounded dainties, and who at dinner would poke an anxious head through the doorway to hear the compliments bestowed upon their art, are almost as extinct as the dodo. Gone, too, are the neat housemaids in guinea-blue calicoes, starched until they rattled like the best taffeta, who felt a personal pride in keeping the mahogany shining like a mirror, and whose ministrations were benedictions, so filled were they with loving care and solicitude. Gone, also, are the old black mammies on whose broad breasts childish sorrows sobbed themselves to sleep and broken baby hearts were mended.

In their places is an ignorant creature in dirty finery, the first article of whose faith is a settled determination not to work. For the time being this has been shaken by hunger or a desire to buy a sleazy silk dress, and she condescends to preside in your kitchen or make your beds, but she does it under protest. She has no pride in her occupation, or desire to do it well. She does not burden her mind with the insignificant details that go to make good cooking. She dashes a lot of things together, and if they turn out all right, well and good. If not, also well and good. All that she is interested in is in drawing her wages, and carrying back and forth the basket that is the commissary department of a horde of idle and shiftless friends.

In the peculiar code of ethics that governs the new negro woman any way of obtaining a livelihood is more honorable and respectable than working for it. The colored Mrs. Grundy does not frown on the demi-mondaine, nor does the conviction of theft call forth any social ostracism. Nor is this surprising. It was to have been expected that a childish race, suddenly freed from slavery, would mistake liberty for license, and that the men and women whose own backs had been bowed with toil should wish to save their children from the burdens they had borne. More than that, the masters and mistresses they idealized did not work with their hands, and so the distorted belief prevails among the negroes that the first step toward being a lady or a gentleman is to be idle. In this the young of both sexes are encouraged by their parents; and

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nothing could be more grotesquely sad than the feeble old black mothers who are bending over washtubs and cooking-stoves earning the money to support strapping sons and daughters, while they boast proudly that their children never did a lick of work!

So far, education has done but little for the great mass of negro women. Here and there a girl achieves the common-school education, and in rare instances one even develops the ability to take a college course; but these latter cases are as unusual as genius is among the whites. Negroes are avid of schooling, and it is nothing uncommon to see a girl go to school, session after session, for eight or ten years, without achieving anything more than the ability to read and write like a child in the second grade, while the superior elegance of saying "have came," and scorning the humble and admiring mother who goes out scrubbing to support her, entitles her to a diploma. It may be that this tentative education, whose uplifting influence is unseen and unfelt as yet, is the little leaven that will eventually leaven the whole lump and raise the entire race to a higher level; but as yet the only visible result has been to teach the girl a scorn of the work she is fitted to do, and to implant in her breast an insatiable ambition to be a school-teacher —an ambition that must be futile unless the supply of scholars can be miraculously increased, or the Government subsidizes every kinky-headed little coon and farms him out among the several million negro girls in the South who are looking forward to the glorious career of being schoolma'ams. Never was the truth of the old adage that a little learning is a dangerous thing so fully illustrated as by these imperfectly educated women; yet it is this half-awakened intelligence, struggling with problems that it is too ignorant to understand, misreading both the past and the present, drawing false meanings from history and philosophy, that is one of the menaces of our time.

Important, however, as is the relation of the negro woman to the white race, it is not so important as her relations to her own. Among her own people her position is one peculiar among the women of the world, and it is one full of cruel injustice and bitter suffering. No other woman among civilized people is so little protected, so little cherished, and evokes so little chivalry from the men of her race. All the hardships that other women endure she bears, and more. She loves, but no sense of loyalty, no convention of faithfulness, binds her lover to her. She may marry, but with no certainty of the tie being permanent. She bears children, but with oftener than not no husband's sympathy to cheer her, no husband's hand to even provide the food and clothing. When she toils, it is only too frequently to have her meager wage taken from her by a drunken brute.

There are, of course, negro men who are admirable husbands, but among the vast majority of them the responsibility of the marriage relationship as white people understand it does not exist. The wedding ceremony and the divorce decree are held in light esteem as ornaments that one may have, but that are not necessities by any means; and the average negro man manifests absolutely no sense of obligation about providing for his wife and children. That burden falls upon the woman. His wage, if he works, is generally spent upon his own pleasures and vices. On every Saturday afternoon throughout the South pathetic groups of these defrauded wives may be witnessed, waiting humbly with their empty baskets on the outskirts of the cotton-gin, or factory, or sawmill where their husbands work, trying to wheedle a little of their week's salary out of their lords and masters to feed the hungry mouths at home. Often the man does not work at all, but lives in a paradise of ease and luxury on the dainties his wife purloins from the pantry of the white people for whom she cooks. No other race in the world shows such a number of men supported by women as does the negro race. The answer to the question, how the vast idle male negro population in the South lives without work, finds its answer in the basket that the cooks invariably carry back and forth between their home and the kitchen in which they are employed.

As a general thing, the negro woman

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is of a tropical temperament, and loves madly and passionately. When roused to jealousy, she is a furious demon who not infrequently kills her rival or the lover who forsakes her. Often her love is as brief as it is stormy, but there are innumerable cases where she displays a dog-like devotion, and follows, year after year, the footsteps of the man who beats her, and mistreats her, and is faithless to her, and sometimes even brings another wife to live under the very roof-tree that her own hard toil supports. For her children she has a fierce passion of maternity that seems to be purely animal, and that seldom goes beyond their childhood. When they are little, she indulges them blindly when she is in good humor, and beats them cruelly when she is angry; and once past their childhood her affection for them appears to be exhausted. She exhibits none of the brooding mother-love and anxiety which the white woman sends after her children as long as they live. Infanticide is not regarded as a crime among negroes, but it is so appallingly common that if the statistics could be obtained on this subject they would send a shudder through the world. The story of many negro midwives, who are veritable female Herods, is not a thing to be told.

The negro woman also occupies a unique position in this, that of all women she is the one who personally best illustrates the fallacy of the theory of free love and the abolition of all the conventions and laws that hedge about matrimony. She is literally "the woman who did" of Mr. Richard Grant White's dream. All that the most advanced theorists who rail at the bondage of marriage advocate she does, and under ideal conditions. There is no public opinion to be defied, no society to turn the cold shoulder upon her. She loses no caste changing husbands as the whim seizes her, and no odium is attached to the possession of what she graphically and picturesquely described as a "bandanna family"—meaning thereby one in which each child is a different color.

Yet, with all of these advantages of freedom in securing a soul mate, and, if she makes a mistake in selecting the first time, in being able to seek an affinity to the third and fourth and hundredth time if she pleases, the negro woman is the most unanswerable refutation that the imagination could devise to those who believe that love should never be fettered. A forlorn and warning figure, forsaken and deserted, with her own burdens a hundredfold heavier because no man is bound to help her bear them, crushed under the weight of a motherhood that no fatherhood lightens, the negro woman stands at the gate of the garden of free-loveism, and cries out that it is a false paradise—that all of its fruit are apples of Sodom, and that nowhere else is a woman's sorrow so inescapable, and her lot so bitter, as in that mockery of freedom.

Such is the negro woman of to-day, the most unfortunate and sinned-against creature in all the world, the victim of heredity, of social conditions, of environment, the very sport and plaything of destiny, yet holding in her hands the fate of a race. There is something almost sardonically humorous in the thought of this woman, with the brain of a child and the passions of a woman, steeped in centuries of ignorance and savagery, and wrapped about with immemorial vices, playing with the die of fate.

Yet there she sits, unthinking, unknowing, with no desire save of the senses, no ambitions, no aspirations, and the most momentous problem of our day is how to rouse this lethargic giantess to a sense of her responsibilities. In the home all the real progress of a people must begin. You cannot raise a race above its motherhood. Until that is done, until the childhood of the little negro girl is safeguarded, until the negro woman is inspired with ideals of virtue, until the mother teaches the child at her knee the precepts of right and honest living, there can be no real uplift for the negro race, and no solving of the race problem.

The mission of the white woman of this country is to the black woman. If ever there was a God given and appointed task set to the womanhood of any people, it is to the women of America to take these lowly sisters by the hand and lift them out of the pit into which they

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have fallen. Humanity pleads for it, Christianity prays for it, the very salvation of the country demands it, for be assured unless we succor these Hagars who have been thrust out into the desert of their own ignorance and superstition and sin, they will raise up Ishmaels whose hands shall be against our sons forever.

II.—The Gain in the Life of Negro Women

By Mrs. Booker T. Washington

IN the many-tongued discussion of negro problems there is no fallacy so common or so insidious as that by which a proposition found true of a particular group of negroes is, in virtue of that fact, proclaimed true of all or of the great mass. To maintain that since from the negroes in a certain town no superior class has emerged, the negroes of America have no superior class—to maintain that is to feel with the Africans that, because the white slave-catchers were merciless, all white men are merciless. The specific problem which is the subject of this paper—Gain in the Life of Negro Women—is often similarly befuddled. There are 8,840,789 negroes in this country, of whom 4,447,568 are women. These women live in States from Massachusetts to Mississippi; some live on plantations, some in towns, some in cities; some are ignorant, some intelligent; some are rich, some poor; some good, some bad. To make propositions that will hold true of these many and essentially different groups of negro women is a task which I do not essay—a task to which Edmund Burke referred when he said that no man can indict a whole race of people.

Moreover, you can no more find the "average" negro woman than you can multiply eggs by treaties. Just as eggs are different from treaties, so good negro women are different from bad negro women, and no average can be struck. The best we can do is to estimate the size of the various groups of negro women, but even this is not enough; the influence, efficiency, significance of one superior woman's life may be indefinitely more than that of ten dull drudges. And so the statistical method could not do justice to this essentially human problem; statistics negate individuality.

I propose to speak of the superior class of negro women, and roughly to indicate something of the import of their organized endeavor.

Every census teems with information that testifies to the material and spiritual gain of the negro population and notably of negro women. To cite a few illustrations from school enrollment, I may say that in the census year 1,096,774 negroes attended school, of whom 510,007 were males and 586,767 were females; 27,858 females as against 28,268 males attended school from two to three months; 160,231 females as against 136,028 males attended school from four to five months; and 227,546 females as against 187,173 males attended school six months and more. These figures indicate the well-known fact that girls attend school more continuously than boys; the boys must go to work while the girls are in school.

In the one hundred public high schools for negroes, 3,659 girls as against 2,974 boys were enrolled in elementary grades, and in secondary grades 3,933 girls and 1,634 boys. In these schools 154 girls were enrolled in the business course; 792 in the classical course; 1,098 girls in the scientific course. In the normal course of the high schools there were 221 girls and 65 boys. In the industrial training courses there were 709 girls and 550 boys. 501 girls and 177 boys graduated in 1900–1 from the high-school course.

In the secondary and higher schools of the colored race there were 13,306 females and 9,587 males in elementary grades; 7,383 females and 6,164 males in the secondary grades; 740 females and 2,339 males in the collegiate course. In secondary and higher schools there were 17,138 colored students receiving the industrial training, of whom 11,012 were females.

These young negro women have not come through the schools on "flowery beds of ease." While their mothers and

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fathers of the generation of yesterday have not been able to give them that home training essential to the best development, they have by the sweat of their brows aided their boys and girls to get the education for which they themselves had yearned in vain. The average young negro woman has either helped her parents on the cotton patch or her mother with her laundry work, during vacation, and in that way has helped to defray her expenses through school. The large majority have worked their way through school in spite of the heavy odds against them. Better home training might have aided them the better to meet the problems confronting them in their lives and service.

At any rate, the schools are each year appreciably increasing the number of educated women of negro blood. The educational provision is of course dangerously inadequate; thus, I know of a great Southern State where there has not for years been a nearly sufficient number of candidates for positions as teachers who could meet the minimum requirements. However, the proportion of educated negro women to-day is very much greater than in 1860. The crucial question is always whether, in the environment in which the negro school or college girl eventually finds herself, she will be able to maintain in her life the ideals of school and college. A superior class of negro women, realizing this situation, have organized a system of clubs to meet the difficulty in some measure. The educated negro girl, these women say, must not go back to the blanket! The woman's club organizes the social life of educated negro women on rational principles, and urges those women to intelligent social service. From this point of view, and from many others, the club movement is interesting.

The club movement among negro women, with social betterment as the aim, began fifteen years ago. So educative was the force that a National Association was organized in 1895. To-day West Virginia, Ohio, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama have State federations. The Northeastern Federation of forty-five clubs confines its work to the Northeast. The Southern Federation of two hundred and twenty-five clubs is devoted to work in the Southern States, but its clubs are affiliated with the National organization.

The work of the individual club is varied. The largest of these have departments directed by women interested in certain phases of uplift—free kindergartens, day nurseries, temperance, prison work, social purity, Mothers' Unions, and the like. The intellectual development has an outlet by discussions of live topics. Here is a typical evening's programme of one of these clubs:

Music, Vocal.
Russia, Past and Present.
Quartet.
The Representative People of Russia.
Life of the Russian Peasant Women as Compared with that of Negro Women.
Instrumental Music.

Our women are wide awake to the necessity of social culture, and no more pleasing feature is there than to receive their friends in their best attire in tastefully furnished reception-rooms. This is a diversion on the club programme perhaps once a year. But the earnest, faithful work of these women in their chosen fields of labor is the aim of their existence. By their efforts free kindergartens, day nurseries, sewing and cooking schools, are supported. Hundreds of untaught mothers living with their children in their cabin homes or in the crowded tenements of the cities are taught how to live. In some of the large towns weekly meetings are held with an average attendance of one hundred and fifty women. Helpful talks are given on such subjects as:

How to Keep Close to the Children.
How to Keep the Confidence of Children.
Mother's Authority in Selecting Company for the Children.
How a Mother can Help her Daughter to Avoid Mistakes as Regards the Young Man she Loves.
White Cross Leagues for Boys.
Relation of Brother and Sister.
Teaching a Boy to Protect Women.

In the conferences that follow, many a revolution is promised that tells that the hints have struck home. House-to-house visits show that progress is made.

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Where crowded conditions have not seemed to promote a healthy moral atmosphere, attempts have been made to gain privacy by a simple screen device, and in many instances this has been a spur to save money and buy homes. These Mothers' Unions or Conferences are training-schools for social betterment, and the cities, towns, and settlements of the plantations all over the South are giving evidences of these helpful influences brought to bear on the lives of our women belonging to the generation of yesterday.

For the past five years the Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has met in the cities of Montgomery, Alabama; Atlanta, Georgia; Vicksburg, Mississippi; New Orleans, Louisiana; and recently in Jacksonville, Florida. After each yearly meeting the impetus gained in the work has been wonderful. Club life has a strong hold in all the cities and States of the South. Each year the new accessions come better prepared to lend a hand in the service. Mothers, business women, school-teachers, are equally active in their efforts to reach out after those who should be awakened to the necessity of proper home making and training for their children.

In the story of the evolution of a club woman in one of our periodicals the trend of the club idea of the white woman seems to take her away from home duties. But our negro women are American daughters of aliens whose home life has not generations of culture behind it, and our work must be practical.

Yet a large percentage of our negro women preside in homes of their own in all these cities where the Southern Federation of Negro Women's Clubs has been privileged to meet. The majority of these club women have helped their husbands to purchase homes by their thrift and economy. Many of these residences are situated on prominent streets. They are well-designed, painted cottages of six and eight rooms, with bath and hot and cold water contrivances, well ventilated, and constructed with an eye to sanitary arrangements. These homes are tastefully furnished.

The hostesses who have entertained the delegations of the Federation as the years have passed, not only know how to keep house, but how to cook and serve well-prepared meals properly in well-appointed dining-rooms. The same women have attended the daily sessions of the conventions, and are those who give the addresses of welcome, direct the federated clubs of the city, and conduct those Mothers' Conferences that are proving vital helps. These women are the leaders in the side trips, trolley rides, and local receptions given as recreations to the visiting workers. They are women following their chosen pursuits—dressmaking, millinery, manicuring. They are clerks, stenographers, trained nurses, teachers, workers in every field of labor that helps them to make a living and buy homes. In many of our largest cities a goodly percentage of the bank depositors are negro women. This means a nest-egg for the purchase and ownership of homes. The negro women are unmodern in that they assume a share in working to pay for homes for their families. In many instances young married couples unite their savings in buying homes—in this order of helpmate may lie some of the reason for gain in the sacredness of the marriage tie.

From all these club centers of the South there radiates over each State an influence that has caused marked improvement in the home life of women gaining instruction in domestic affairs from the club conferences to which they belong.

I have emphasized the educative force of the club, because it has been by this means, certainly, that the passing generation of negro women has been able to meet the demands of family responsibilities.

Young negro women of to-day are developing under fairer conditions. The home training combined with the school training of head, hand, and heart develops that steadiness of purpose that underlies strong, sturdy character.

Our young woman is already taking her place in various spheres of life, regardless of precedent. Her training fits her for home life and the larger

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social service of the school-room. She does with her might what her hands find to do. A college girl directs a steam laundry or makes soap in a large laundering establishment. She has spent four years at Greek and Latin, but has charge of a broom factory where girls are manufacturing brooms of all sorts and sizes. She has gained all the training possible in the schools of her native heath, and by arduous sacrifice has worked her way through the best New England schools of domestic science that she might be thoroughly prepared to teach. She has a laboratory for her theory classes in cooking. She teaches practical cooking daily to large classes of white-capped, white-aproned girls, with individual towels and holders, and at the end of each week in one school alone four hundred and fifty negro girls have learned to cook by doing. No more helpful encouragement has come for this work than the testimonials from white women of the South interested in the improvement of some of these girls.

Young negro women are teaching hundreds of their sisters the same principles of dressmaking and millinery that they were taught in the training-schools of Pratt and Teachers' College. And these young women are not misfits. They are not despondent in their calling. They are putting in brain with the would-be drudgery, and are making marked success of industries where women with fewer advantages might have failed to show their pupils the true dignity of labor.

The present indications of advance in the life of negro women are most hopeful for the future of the race. With the home training that is becoming possible, with the training that our schools afford, with the inheritance of true worth that made the parents do their utmost to bequeath to their children honest, upright lives, the young negro women will possess that wealth of character that will be the means eventually of dispelling the greatest barriers that may confront the race.

Whether or not we attribute this gain to school, club, or religious influence, we do know that much is due to the club, and we know that the future of the race is dependent upon the women and their standards of living. Whatever force is at work that is developing that strength of character which is the bulwark of an individual or race, we hope it will obtain a permanent hold in the life of negro women.

It remains with the greater mass of our women to make the weal or woe come quickly or linger. But the signs of the times are bright. The educative forces are at work. The greater mass is being leavened, and we thank God that there will be no retrograde. There has been none and there will be none!

Tuskegee, Alabama.

The Greater Love

By Henry Hoyt Moore

The bee that sips her sweets from flowers fair,
Flying on careless wing now here, now there,
With azure skies above, green sward below,
And soft south-wind to bear her to and fro,
Might seem the soul of self-devoted ease,
Her life a draught of nectar without lees.
Not so! Her prime is full of strenuous deed
That shames our own in generous meed
Of work for others' good. Long summer days
She builds her golden house, with guerdons stays
Her Queen, uprears her young, and stores her food—
Then sudden shuns her wealth, her home, her brood,
And seeks new haven on an unknown sea,
Leaving her life-work to posterity.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT THE CITIZEN[1]

BY JACOB A. RIIS

Author of "The Making of an American," "How the Other Half Lives," etc.

Chapter IX.—The Summons on Mount Marcy

ON that summer day, three years ago, when the Republican party nominated Theodore Roosevelt for Vice-President, I was lying on my back, stricken down by sudden severe illness. My wife had telegraphed to him that I longed to see him; but in the turmoil of the convention the message did not get to him till the morning after the nominations were made. He came at once from Philadelphia, and it was then that I, out of pain and peril, heard from his own lips the story of his acceptance of the new dignity his countrymen had thrust upon him. "Thrust upon" is right. I knew how stoutly he had opposed the offer, how he had met delegation after delegation with the frank avowal that he could serve the party and the country better as Governor of New York, and I knew that that was his ambition; for his work at Albany was but half finished. It was his desire that the people should give him another term in his great office, unasked, upon the record of the two years that were drawing to a close. He had built up no machine of his own. He had used that which he found to the uttermost of its bent, and of his ability—not always with the good will of the managers; but he had used it for the things he had in mind, telling the bosses that for all other legitimate purposes, for organization, for power, they might have it: he should not hinder them. Now, upon this record, with nothing to back him but that, he wished the people to commission him and his party to finish their work. It was thoroughly characteristic of Roosevelt and of his trust in the people as both able and willing to do the right, once it was clearly before them.

He knew well enough what was on foot concerning him. He was fully advised of the plans of his enemies to shelve him in the "harmless office" of Vice-President, and how they were taking advantage of his popularity in the West and with the young men throughout the land to "work up" a strenuous demand for him to fill the second place on the ticket. So, they reasoned, he would be out of the way for four years, and four years might bring many things. As Vice-President he would not be in 1904 anything like the candidate before the people which two years more as Governor of the Empire State would make him. Back of the spoils politicians were the big corporations that had neither forgotten nor forgiven the franchise-tax law that made them pay on their big dividend-earning properties as any poor man was taxed on his home. Anything to beat him for Governor and for the Presidency four years hence! The big traction syndicates in the East made the pace: Roosevelt for Vice-President! He was not deceived; but the plotters were. Their team ran away with them. The demand they desired came from the West and swept him into the office. From perhaps one State in the East and one in the West it was a faked-up call. From the great and bounding prairies, from the rugged mountain sides, and from the sunny western slope of the Rockies, where they knew Roosevelt for what he was, and loved him; from the young men everywhere, from the men with ideals, it was a genuine shout for the leader who spoke with their tongue, to their hearts. Senator Wolcott spoke

[1] Copyright, 1903, by the Outlook Company.

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their mind when he brought him the nomination: "You, everywhere and at all times, stood for that which was clean and uplifting, and against everything that was sordid and base. You have shown the people of this country that a political career and good citizenship could go forward hand in hand. . . . There is not a young man in these United States who has not found in your life and influence an incentive to better things and higher ideals." Against such a force traditions went for nothing; it was strong enough to break more stubborn ones than that which made of the Vice-Presidency a political grave. In 1904 it was to be Roosevelt for President.

Roosevelt yielded. His friends were in despair; his enemies triumphed. At last they had him where they wanted him.

Man proposes, but God disposes. Now in joy, and again in tears and sorrow, do we register the decree. One brief year, and the nation wept at the bier of William McKinley. Of his successor the President of Columbia College wrote: "He was not nominated to satisfy or placate, but to succeed. The unspeakably cruel and cowardly assassin has anticipated the slow and orderly processes of law."

He himself, standing within the shadow of the great sorrow—though, light of heart, we knew it not—spoke these brave words to his people: "We gird up our loins as a nation with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph; and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right, as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story." [1]

The campaign of that year none of us has forgotten. An incident of it lives in my memory as typical of the spirit in which the people took his candidacy, and also with a sense of abiding satisfaction that one thing was done right, and at the right moment, in my sight. I was coming up from Chatham Square one night in the closing days of the canvass, when a torch and a crowd attracted me to a truck at the lower end of the Bowery, from which a man was holding forth on the issues involved in the National election. He was not an effective speaker, and the place needed that, if any place did. The block was "the panhandlers' beat," one of the wickedest spots in the world, I believe. I stood and listened awhile, and the desire to say a word grew in me until I climbed on the wagon and, telling them I was a Roosevelt man, asked for a chance. They were willing enough, and, dropping tariff and the "honest dollar," that had very little to do with that spot, I plunged at once into Roosevelt's career as Governor and Police Commissioner. I thought with grim satisfaction, as I went on, that we were fairly within sight of "Mike" Callahan's saloon, where the fight over the excise law was fought out by Policeman Bourke, who dragged the proprietor, kicking and struggling all the way, to the Elizabeth Street station. He had boasted that he had thrown the keys of the saloon away, and that no one could make him close on Sunday. Bourke was made a sergeant, and Roosevelt and the law won.

But of that I made no boast then. I told the people what Roosevelt had done and had tried to do for them; how we had traveled together by night through all that neighborhood, trying to enter into the life of the people and their needs. As the new note rose, I saw the tenement blocks on the east of the Bowery give up their tenants to swell the crowd, and was glad. Descrying a policeman's uniform on its outskirts, I reminded my hearers of how my candidate had stood for an even show, for fair play to the man without a pull, and for an honest police. I had got to that point when the drunken rounder, who by right should have appeared long before, caromed through the crowd and shook an inebriated fist at me.

"T-tin s-soldier!" he hiccoughed. "Teddy Ro-senfeld he never went to Cu-u-ba, no more 'n, no more 'n—"

Who else it was that had never been to Cuba fate had decreed that none of us

[1] The concluding words of Vice-President Roosevelt's speech at the Minnesota State Fair, Minneapolis, Sept. 2, 1902.

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should know. There came, unheralded, forth from the crowd a vast and horny hand that smote the fellow flat on the mouth with a sound as of a huge soul-satisfying kiss. He went down, out of sight, without a word. The crowd closed in over him; not a head was turned to see what became of him. I do not know. Who struck the blow I did not see. He was gone, that was enough. It *was* enough, and just right.

Which reminds me of another and very different occasion, when I addressed a Sunday-evening audience in the Cooper Institute, at the other end of the Bowery, upon my favorite theme. The Cooper Institute is a great place, a worthy monument to its truly great founder. But its Sunday-evening meetings, when questions are in order, have the faculty of attracting almost as many cranks as did Elijah the Restorer to Madison Square Garden. I had hardly finished when a man arose in the hall and, pointing a menacing finger at me, squeaked out:

"You say Theodore Roosevelt is a brave man. How about his shooting a Spaniard in the back?"

I had been rather slow and dull up till then, in spite of my theme; but the fellow woke me right up. My wife, who had come over with me and sat in the audience, said afterward that she never saw a man bristle so suddenly in her life.

"The man," I cried out, "who says that is either a fool or a scoundrel. Which of the two are you?"

I don't believe he heard. His kind rarely do. They never by any chance get any other side of a subject than their own, for they never can shake themselves off for a moment. He stood pointing at me still:

"Does not Holy Writ say, 'Thou shalt not kill?'" he went on.

"Yes! and on the same page does it not say that 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor,' even if he is the President of the United States?"

The audience by this time was upon its feet, yelling its delight. It was what it wanted. The crank sat down. In the front row a red-faced Irishman jumped up and down like a jack-in-the-box, wildly excited.

"You let him alone," he shouted to the people, shaking his hat at them; "let Professor Riis alone. He can take care of himself. Teddy Roosevelt is the greatest man in the country;" and, turning half toward me, he shot up a fist like a ham and, grabbing mine, yelled out, "I druv him oncet!"

Crank after crank got up with their questions, and as I looked out over them bobbing in the amused crowd like corks on a choppy sea, there came into my head Solomon's precept to answer a fool according to his folly. The President's first message was just out.

"How shall we interpret it?" queried a pedantic spectacled loon, with slow deliberation, checking the points off on his fingers; "shall we class it as an economic effort or as a political discourse, as a literary production or as a—"

"The President's message," I interrupted, "has just been rendered into the language of the blind, and *they* don't have any difficulty in making it out."

The meeting broke up in a great laugh, amid a storm of protests from the cranks, whose fun was spoiled. They were not looking for information. They had come merely to hear themselves talk.

I guess it is no use beating about the bush, telling stories; I have to come to it. But I haven't got over the shock the news from Buffalo gave me up there in the Canadian wilderness. I hate to think of it.

Roosevelt had gone to join his children in the Adirondacks, with the assurance of the doctors that President McKinley was mending, and in no danger. He had come straight to Buffalo at the first news of the murderous attempt upon the President's life, thereby giving great offense to the fault-finders, who could see in the Vice-President's solicitude for his friend and chief only a ghoulish desire to make sure of the job. And now, when he went with lightened heart to tell his own the good news, they cried out in horror that he went hunting while the President lay fighting death. They were as far from the truth then as before. He, knowing little and caring less what was said of him, was resting quietly with his wife and the children, who had been sick, at the Upper Tahawus

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Club on Mount Marcy. No one in that party had thought of hunting or play. Their minds were on more serious matters. It was arranged that they were all to go out of the woods on Saturday, September 14, on which day Mr. Roosevelt had summoned his secretary to meet him at his Long Island home. He had come from Buffalo only two days before. Friday found them all upon the mountain: the Vice-President, Mrs. Roosevelt, and their nephews, the two Robinson boys, and Mr. James McNaughton, their host. Ted, the oldest of the Roosevelt boys, had gone fishing. The rest, with two guides, formed the party.

Far up the mountain side there lies a pretty lake, the "Tear in the Clouds," whence the Hudson flows into the lowlands. There the party camped after a long and arduous tramp over the mountain trail. Mrs. Roosevelt had gone back with the children. From his seat on a fallen log Roosevelt followed the gray outline of Mount Marcy's bald peak piercing mist and cloud. Up there might be sunshine. Where they were was wet discomfort. A desire grew in him to climb the peak and see, and he went up. But there was no sunshine there. All the world lay wrapped in a gray, impenetrable mist. It rained, a cold and chilly rain in the clouds.

They went down again, and reached the wood-line tired and hungry. There they spread their lunch on the grass and sat down to it. Upon the quiet talk of the party there broke suddenly an unusual sound in that quiet solitude, the snapping of a twig, a swift step. A man came out of the woods, waving a yellow envelope in his hand.

Silence fell upon them all as they watched Mr. Roosevelt break it and read the message. It was brief: "The President's condition has changed for the worse.—CORTELYOU." That was all. He read it over once, twice, and sat awhile, the message in his hand, grave shadows gathering in his face. Then he arose, the food untouched, and said briefly: "I must go back at once."

They fell in behind him on the homeward trail. Silent and sad, the little procession wound its way through the gloomy forest. Dusk was setting in when they reached the cottage. No news was there. The Vice-President's secretary, warned in the early morning by despatches from Buffalo, had started for the mountains on a special train, but the road ended at North Creek, more than thirty miles away, and from there he had been telegraphing and telephoning all day that he would wait till Mr. Roosevelt came. Of this nothing was known on the mountain. The telephone line ended at the lower club-house—ten miles farther down—and the messages lay there. No one had thought of sending them up.

Mr. Roosevelt sent runners down at once to find out if there was any summons for him, and made ready for an immediate start before he changed his clothing. He was wet through. The dusk became darkness, and the hours wore far into the evening. He walked up and down alone in front of the cottage, thinking it all over. It could not be. He had arranged to be advised at once of the least change, and no word had come. Up to that morning all the bulletins were hopeful. There must be some awful mistake. Black night sat upon the mountain and no message yet. He went in to snatch such sleep as he could get. Too soon he might need it.

In the midnight hour came the summons. Mr. McNaughton himself brought the message: "Come at once." In ten minutes Mr. Roosevelt threw his grip into the buckboard that was hurriedly driven up, and gave the word to go.

How that wild race with death was run and lost—for before it was half finished President McKinley had breathed his last, and there was no longer any Vice-President hastening to his bedside—will never be told. But for a frightened deer that sprang now and then from the roadside, stopping in the brush to watch wide-eyed the plunging team and the swaying lantern disappear in the gloom, no living thing saw it. The two in the wagon—the man on the driver's seat and the silent shape behind him—had other thoughts: the one for the rough trail which he vainly tried to make out through the mist; at any moment the wheels might leave their rut or crash against a boulder, and team and all be flung a hundred feet down a preci-

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pice. As for the other, his thoughts were far away at a bedside from which a dying man was whispering words of comfort to his weeping wife. Mechanically, when the driver turned to him with warning of the risks they were taking, he repeated, as if he had scarcely heard: "Go on—go right ahead!"

The new day was an hour old and over when the vehicle stopped at the lower club-house, mud-splashed from hub to hood. Here Mr. Roosevelt heard for the first time from his secretary, who had watched sleepless at the other end of the wire, the tragedy then passing into history in the city of Buffalo. Secretary Loeb knew the dangers of the mountain roads on a dark and rainy night, and pleaded with him to wait till morning.

"I will come right through, as quick as I can," was the answer he received; and before he could ring the telephone bell, Mr. Roosevelt was in his seat again, and the horses were plunging through the night toward the distant railroad.

Down hill and up, through narrow defiles, over bare hillsides where the wheels scraped and slid upon the hard rock and the horses' hoofs struck fire at every jump; on perilous brinks hidden in the shrouding fog, and tenfold more perilous for that; now and then a bog-hole through which the wheels of the buckboard sank to the hubs; past a little school-house where a backwoods dance was just breaking up, the women scattering in sudden fright as the traveler drove by. Then the wayside hotel with waiting horses in relay, and two-thirds of the way was covered.

Once more the gloom and the forest; once more the grim traveler gazing ahead, ahead, as if he would pierce the veil of fate and wrest from it its secret, repeating his monotonous "Go on! Keep right ahead!" In the city by the lake William McKinley lay dead. Through the darkness rode the President, clinging obstinately to hope.

So the dawn came. As the first faint tinge of it crept into the night, and trees and rocks whirling past took on dim outlines, the steaming horses drew up at the railroad station at North Creek, where a puffing engine had been in waiting many hours. From the platform Secretary Loeb came down, bareheaded:

"The worst has happened," he said. "The President is dead."

So, to this man, who had been tried and found faithful in much, came the call to take his place among the rulers of the earth.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Virgin's Bower

By Mary Thacher Higginson

As still as a cathedral close,
  And guarded by a wall of green,
A garden full of lilies grows
  Which no man's eye hath ever seen.
Only the fragrance, like a prayer,
Escapes to bless the outer air.

Some time the hidden must be known:
  A stranger's step will scale the wall,
And claim the blossoms for his own,
  And glean the petals as they fall.
Ah! let him come with careful tread,
With reverent hands, uncovered head!

But should a reckless soul find room
  Within this kingdom of delight,
And trample down the lilies' bloom,
  And put the singing birds to flight,-
Before such havoc meet my eye,
Be kind, O God! and let me die.

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The Penny Paper

By Mary White Ovington

A SUDDEN change of environment gives a unique vividness to new impressions: thus we feel most keenly the stillness of the country when we approach it from the noise of the city streets. Such impressions may sometimes be worth recording, and I venture to give one of my own on moving from a quiet, well-to-do residence quarter of a city into a region of factories and tenements. The streets which I left were lined with private dwellings occupied by old American families somewhat conservative in their tastes. I came into a district where nearly every one lived in a tenement—a mixed population of German, Irish, Scandinavian, English, Scotch—the children often American-born. Amid these conditions new impressions were many, and one of the most startling was the omnipresence of the sensational penny paper. It was on the table in nearly every home that I entered, its jokes were a part of the vocabulary of the streets, and its latest robbery or murder was a subject for frequent discussion. Accustomed to regard sensational journalism as vicious, I at first refused to look at what every one about me was reading; but it soon seemed better in all humility to discover, if possible, the reason for the paper's popularity. Taking the most widely read of the penny evening dailies, I studied it, therefore, for months at a time, often comparing it with the three-cent conservative sheet to which I was accustomed; and by questioning those who were fond of the sensational paper, I endeavored to look upon it from their point of view as well as from my own.

The one-cent and the three-cent dailies compared column by column for the same evening showed a dissimilarity that was prodigious. One was a record of important current events in the Nation and the world. The other ignored these matters. Familiar with the percentages of "yellowness" given by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox in his article on the American Newspaper,[1] I found as I read week after week that the differences were greater than any percentages could bring out. One evening the penny journal did not print a word concerning the city, the State, or the Nation. Another time it had half a column, while the three-cent paper had nine and a half columns. Almost the same figures appeared again—two-fifths of a column, against nine and three-quarters. In one penny journal, out of thirty-three columns that could come under the heading of news, eight were given to criminal items and ten to sporting notes, chiefly comments on a coming prize-fight. Another six were personals, stories of the private life of unknown persons. A little over one column was given to labor matters, as against one and three-quarters on the same subject in the three-cent daily. (The illustrations are included in these figures.) Another evening a page and a half was devoted to the tale of a daughter seeking recognition from her mother. Both parent and child were persons unknown to history. They had no position that should have placed them before the public; and yet, in a paper published in the city of New York, the news of Nation, State, and municipality, of business and reform, was dismissed with a few words to make space for their unimportant story.

This was the method of the paper. A like treatment of current events occurred night after night. I used to imagine the scorn of the founders of our first dailies should they return to earth some evening to read the news in a penny sheet. How vexatious and fruitless would be their search for any record of the political condition of their country and of the world!

To understand the reason for this astonishing difference in the character of the news in the one-cent and the three-cent journals, it was necessary to

[1] Annals of the American Academy, July, 1900. (Editorial in The Outlook, August 25, 1900.)

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consider the homes which the two papers reached.

I knew where I had seen the three-cent daily—on the library table in a room where the chairs were large and comfortable and the wall-spaces were filled with pictures and books. In such a spot, with the best thinkers and story-tellers within hand-reach, the newspaper represented only a small part of that printed matter which contributed to the thought life of its reader. Its place was a useful one as retailing the history of the day, but it was limited. The penny paper, however, on the kitchen table in the tenement, occupied a more important place. Here the family possessed not even a shelf-full of books. There might be a "juvenile," taken from the public library, but usually it was read only by the children. I remember that we have been told charmingly of the appreciation of the book in the tenement—in Boston. But, except in the Hebrew quarter, the same tale could not be told in New York. I have loaned books to women in the tenements who handled them with affection and read them with understanding. I remember one evening, the eve of a holiday, sitting in a workingman's kitchen and seeing my host eagerly snatch up the volume brought to him from the library by his son. The title was "A Winter's Tale." "That's right," he said. "I wanted one of the comedies. I can read it while I look after the furnaces to-morrow." But lovers of good reading are a small minority in our cities. If this were not so, the penny paper would not exist as it is. I once met with half a dozen pleasant young workingwomen who had been persuaded that they wanted to join a reading class. "Tell me of some man or woman in a story whom you admire," I asked. Not one of them could recall the name of any character in any book which she had read. Books were not their companions. Since going to work they had rarely opened them; but they did turn over the leaves and read in the evening paper. And this paper, to please them and the many others, men and women like them, should be something very different from a three-cent conservative sheet. Instead of recording current events, it should rather be a collection of story and sermon, adventure and joke.

Here, I believe, we gain an understanding of the sensational evening journal. It is written primarily for those who read no other printed message. Thus it is not a careful publisher of public news, sorting the important from the unimportant, and presenting a history of the day that shall be of value to historians in the future; it is a miniature library for those who are accustomed to no other reading. The subjects it contains are many. They are treated in various ways—by the historian, essayist, or purveyor of gossip. But it continually studies the taste of its readers, and, knowing that every one likes a good story, it reserves to the novelist the foremost place. For this reason the girl seeking recognition from her mother takes precedence over a National event. And with all the world to hear from, it is possible each day to recite some thrilling tale of love, adventure, or of dark crime.

Looking closely at these stories, we soon see that they are written from the standpoint of providing interesting fiction, and only secondarily as news. They dwell on details unimportant to the reader who desires a simple statement of the facts, but needful to him who seeks a thrilling tale. I well remember reading of a murder where the man was accused of killing his wife. The picture of their room, the exact location of the bed and door and window, held my unwilling attention. The crime as news was in no way entitled to the space awarded it. It was a "Study in Scarlet," and while I might prefer mine as told by Mr. Conan Doyle, it was not difficult to realize that others would enjoy the excitement of hearing of this present-day murder.

No portion of the paper so well illustrates this use of news as fiction as the personal notes, the stories of private individuals with whom the public has no reason to be concerned. In an issue dating some time back, these, in abbreviated form, are a few of such items:

Brooklyn.—A iilted girl is dying of a broken hear..

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Corning, N. Y.—A man marries his mother-in-law.

Cleveland, Ohio.—A wealthy man's wife runs away with an iron-molder.

Asbury, N. J.—A case of hysteria looks like death.

Easton, Pa.—A wealthy farmer left his home four years ago and went to the poor-house. Death just occurred.

(It is perhaps needless to say that none of this news appeared in the three-cent paper of the same date.)

Looking at these items, we see that all but the first occurred outside of New York City. A local paper of Corning might possibly find the news of the agreeable if somewhat unusual marriage cited worth printing, but unusual marriages take place every day, and no New York paper publishes them for the benefit of the inhabitants of the remote town where they occur. These "personals" are not important current events, but skeleton stories that the editor hopes may arouse an emotion of interest in the reader. To be told in a few lines of a jilted girl who is dying of a broken heart lacks in entertainment to those who have followed for three volumes the story of Lily Dale; and the picture painted of the case of hysteria is moonshine compared with the creeping horror of the "Fall of the House of Usher." But Trollope and Poe require for their perusal a reader familiar with the diction of good literature and capable of continuous, coherent thought. The penny paper only asks a few moments' attention, and it tells its story with a successful appeal to the emotions and sentiments of its habitual readers.

Murders and robberies and love tales do not, however, make up the whole of this library, nor are they, I think, the most popular section of it. The humor in the paper comes last, but it is read first by nearly every one who buys it. Watch the little boy in the car spend his penny for a paper. He puts his head down to read, and his shoulders shake over the joke. "What do you buy the paper for?" I have asked one boy after another, and the answer has always been, "De jokes." And they are good jokes, illustrated by men who excel in their craft.

This library is not lacking in straightforward words of advice, for men and women like to hear questions of right and wrong discussed and are willing to listen to the preacher. And if they read day after day the tersely written editorials and the sympathetic, common-sense preaching, they will find matter for thought. The sentimentalism of the preacher is not likely to please the man who handles familiarly his Marcus Aurelius, but some of the editorials might stand on the shelf by Hazlitt or Stevenson and not feel ashamed, so forcefully and sanely do they speak. There is also the poetry, usually of a didactic character, pointing the moral with an obvious finger, and occasionally echoing with startling accuracy the words of others. We may feel fairly confident that here, as in other libraries, verse is taken from its shelf by the few.

The better to make clear the heterogeneous character of this penny journal in distinction from the simpler make-up of the conservative sheet, ask a dozen widely read men and women what they read their paper for. They will all answer, "The news"—political, economic, a recital of the events of the twenty-four hours of public importance. They will add that they also look for the accounts of the sports of college or club, for what is going on in the city in art, drama, music. Ask a dozen working men and women what they read their evening paper for, and the answers will be more diversified. The men would read it for good political news if they could find any, but they buy it for other things—the prize-fight and robbery. "I always read the murders," says one young woman," and "I read all the divorces," say many more. One man turns first to the advice to the love-lorn, and one to the editorial. All enjoy the jokes. If the jokes were omitted, may we not safely predict that the paper's circulation would sensibly decrease? But what subscriber would discontinue his three-cent daily if it failed to furnish him its usual fifty lines of decorous wit? Yet he knows the need of a good laugh, and enjoys it with his "Pickwick" or "Tramp Abroad."

It would be easy further to elaborate this figure of the newspaper as a library, and, moreover, to point out the grave omissions on its shelves. But we may

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all do this for ourselves, dreaming, too, of what such a newspaper might be. There is one point, however, which must long since have occurred to us—that to use truth as fiction is a business fraught with suffering to the men and women whose life stories are published as entertaining or revolting romance, and that to persecute a man on trial for crime, to hunt him with the gay heartlessness of the writer of a good detective story, is to expose him to mediæval torture. To know that the many are amused can be but poor comfort to the victim whom the reporter prods on to furnish good sport. Such a method of dealing with the facts of men's lives deserves the most serious criticism. I have not meant, however, either to accuse or to defend sensational journalism, but, if possible, to explain it. It is so important a phenomenon to-day that we cannot too carefully study its methods and the reasons for its power.

Sometimes it seems as though the world had grown thoughtless and commonplace in its literary taste. The circulation of the public libraries shows an enormous preponderance of books read only for entertainment, and the sensational paper advertises a circulation that touches the million point. But with many of these readers we must remember that there is no question of retrogression. They have not dropped Shakespeare for Beatrice Fairfax. They are looking for the first time at the world of recorded thought. To some it is an effort merely to read print. How should we expect from them the swift appreciation of beauty and truth that comes to those who from childhood have lived with the best literature? It is very likely that the standard of the penny paper is lower than they wish it to be. Fearing to lose in popularity, it exaggerates the sensational to the point of repellence. But the paper is the precursor of a better understanding of that literature which shall be to its readers, not a passing entertainment, but a continuing joy.

German History[1]

IN our opinion, for the English reader there is no more admirable contribution to the history of Germany, as a whole, than in these volumes. It is true that we have some interesting shorter histories, and, in German, notable longer accounts, whether of particular periods or of all the periods. But Dr. Henderson's so-called short history stands in a class by itself.

The work is extremely well indexed, printed, and bound, as befits its text; in another edition it might be accompanied with profit by a few more maps; the insertion of dates on the margins of the pages would also add to its value. The work is one which, like Green's "History of the English People," lends itself to lavish illustration, and we hope that some day it will be published in such a welcome edition. For that, however, we can afford to wait; the dates and maps are more immediately desirable.

To the special student, even more than to the general reader, the excellence of this text lies in its apparent freedom from prejudice. Founded on a thorough examination of original documents and sources, we here find the great figures in German history painted as we must believe they really were. Dr. Henderson indulges in little hero-worship, especially in describing ecclesiastical personages; the various Popes and those four great figures of the Reformation period, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Zwingli, are shown to be very human, often only too deplorably human, and certainly dishearteningly intolerant.

Our author wisely gives to us, as much as possible, such glimpses of these and other personages, political, religious, literary, as may be pictured in their own words. For instance, from Frederick the Great we have this characteristic bit of cynicism:

How hard-hearted men are! They say to me, "You have friends." Yes, fine friends who cross their arms and tell me, "We

[1] *A Short History of Germany*. By Ernest F. Henderson. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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wish you all success." "But I am drowning. Throw me a rope." "Oh, no, you will not drown." "Yes, I must sink the next moment." "Oh, we hope the contrary. But if it should happen, be convinced that we shall place a fine inscription on your tomb."

In story-telling a contemporary commands a vividness of style hardly to be imitated by any successor. Dr. Henderson's history offers excerpts from many contemporary accounts, and in his selection the historian shows a keen sense of humor. For instance, describing Rudolf of Hapsburg, that warrior noted for zeal in increasing his boundaries, the Bishop of Basle is quoted who prayed: "Sit still on Thy throne, O Lord, or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off." A thousand such touches, which another historian might disdain to include, give plenty of color and high lights to these two volumes. To the general reader, at least, anecdotes describe history far more graphically and distinctly than do dry-as-dust details as to battles, campaigns, and administrations. The Joachims and Henrys and Charleses stand out with sharper outline when the historian takes pains of this kind, and maybe a few more pages, to put us into intimate relations with the old warriors and kings, who are, to most readers, merely names.

The work sheds incidental light, not only on persons, but also on movements, some of which seem to have found culmination in our own day—that against the Jews, for instance, as noted in the recent Kishenev massacre. If we deplore the willful ignorance and bigotry of the Czar, who is at the same time the head of the orthodox Greek Church, we may remember, after reading these pages, that the head of the Latin Church has been guilty of greater bigotry. Under the Pope's rule, Jews once were compelled to dress in such a manner as to be easily distinguished, were forbidden to hold office with Christians, to look on while knights were disporting themselves in the tournament, to carry on commercial enterprises in which Israelites had hitherto been leaders. It is no wonder that they became usurers. It was the only resource left to them; for centuries the Church had pronounced the taking of interest to be usury and had forbidden all Christians thus to soil their hands.

Speaking of the change from rural to civic life which took place in Germany in the thirteenth century, Dr. Henderson raises the pertinent question whether the revolution of ideas was not greater at that time than even in the fifteenth century with its compass, its gunpowder, and its printing-press, or in the nineteenth with its steam and railways. Or take the Hanseatic movement in the succeeding century, when, as Dr. Henderson justly says, German architects attained triumphs still reckoned among the greatest of their kind, when mastersingers worthily took the place once held by the troubadours, when learning abandoned the monasteries for the public schools and universities (Heidelberg, founded 1386, was the first to be established on German ground), when the German language had superseded the Latin as the language of public affairs. The Hanseatic League was the outgrowth of the necessity for traders to unite for mutual protection. It was a civic league formed first of all not for political purposes but for commercial ends. Its members were either individuals or whole cities, and at its summit of power it numbered no less than seventy-seven cities.

So, throughout the centuries from Charlemagne and Otto, the author takes us step by step toward the modern unification of Germany, to the proclamation of William the First as Emperor in 1871. Had that monarch been an absolute autocrat like Frederick the Great, Dr. Henderson points out, or, on the other hand, had he been merely a figurehead, it is difficult to say how German unity could have been accomplished. Fortunately, he possessed the very qualities that made all Germans willing to accept his leadership, while Bismarck showed the strength of Hercules in leveling the supervening obstacles. We are glad to have the colloquy definitely narrated which took place between Bismarck and the Prussian King at Versailles relative to the imperial title. It seems that the latter did not really thirst for it. He was willing to remain merely the President of a great German federation.

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If these volumes are thus notable in matter, they are no less so in manner. Written by one who brings to his work a signal freshness, buoyancy, and vivacity to crown his patient labors as an investigator, Dr. Henderson's style is vital in the best sense. It seems to us more finished than was evident in his "History of the Middle Ages in Germany" or in his "Side Lights on English History." In all of these works the profit to the reader from the union of such matter and manner is that he may come to regard history, not from the standpoint of a student in a distant age from the events described, but rather, as much as possible, from the standpoint of a contemporary.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Anacaona and Other Poems. By John M. Morse. The Grafton Press, New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 185 pages.

Autobiography of the I or Ego, or the Metaphysics of an Interloper and Impostor, Himself in the Rôle of Confessor. By Charles K. Wheeler. Published by the Author, 9 Park Square, Boston. 5×6¾ in. 115 pages. $1, net.

Between the Acts. By Henry W. Nevinson. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¾×8 in. 387 pages. $2.50, net.

Some parts of this collection of sketches—half story, half study of unusual conditions of life—have real distinction such as makes them worthy of the rather unusual physical form in which the publishers have issued them. Others, however, are disagreeable because of unpleasant realism, and still others are disagreeable because of the hopeless, dreary tone which seems just now to be unhappily prevalent in much English fiction. Mr. Nevinson, years ago, wrote a volume of studies of the life of the London poor in the form of fiction, which were quite worthy to rank, in point of art, with the work of Mr. Arthur Morison in this direction. The subjects he touches on in the present book are varied: glimpses of the tragedy of the Boer war, life in the slums of London, a picture of an Oxford Don lost in theological and social doubt and vaguely trying to find himself (this seems to us the best of the sketches), and some little love dramas.

Blessed Hope of the Lord's Return (The). By Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D.D., LL.D. William Ballantyne & Sons, Washington, D.C. 5½×7 in. 87 pages.

Consul (The): A Sketch of Emma Booth Tucker. By her Husband, Commander Booth Tucker. The Salvation Army Publishing Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 192 pages. Paper bound, 25c.

An appreciative memoir of the woman who, with her husband, from 1896 to the time of her death in October of last year, was in charge of the Salvation Army in America.

Desert Botanical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution. By Frederick Vernon Coville and Daniel Trembly Macdougal. Illustrated. Published by the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C. 7×10 in. 58 pages.

Education as Adjustment: Educational Theory Viewed in the Light of Contemporary Thought. By M. V. O'Shea. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 317 pages. $1.50.

Professor O'Shea finds a copious current of opinion as to the true aim and method of education, and great need of filtering it through scientific principles. Established principles in biology, sociology, and psychology supply this filter. Doctrines that contain some truth, but fail in more or less important points, have expressed themselves in theories of unfoldment, of formal discipline, of knowledge-getting, of practical utility. Briefly criticising these, Professor O'Shea sets over against them the theory of adjustment to the environment in which life must be lived, as the theory by which evolutionary principles must guide education out of a rather chaotic and backward state. He brings cogent reinforcement to this view from psychology in particular, and its present doctrine of mind as a reacting mechanism, a dynamic and functioning organ. "Learning has for its end, speaking neurologically, to establish a network of just those neural processes that are required for adjustment to any situation." Dealing with the scientific aspects of the subject in an untechnical and popular way, Professor O'Shea discusses in detail the implications of adjustment, its relation to social organization, its effect on teaching, and the method of attaining it, closing with a searching critique of his chief antagonist, the advocate of formal discipline. Professor O'Shea writes clearly and keenly. He is unquestionably correct in regarding a large amount of educational theory as the product of a personal bias of interest or inclination, and in demanding a scientific temper as the chief desideratum for sound educational aim and method. His readers should look with interest for the future volumes he promises.

In Memoriam. By Alfred Tennyson. Analysis and Notes by Charles Mansford, B.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 3½×6 in. 228 pages, 75c., net.

Months and Moods: A Fifteen Year Calendar. By Edward Curtis. The Grafton Press, New York. 8×11½ in. 58 pages. $1, net.

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Musical Instruments of All Nations: Catalogue. The Crosby Brown Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art. No. I. **Europe.** No. II. **Asia.** No. III. **Keyboard Instruments.** Illustrated. Published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Paper bound. No. I., 25c. No. II., 10c. No. III., $1.

The collection which is here catalogued was described in The Outlook for March 1, 1902. It began with four instruments intended for a private music-room; it now comprises two thousand eight hundred instruments, and is one of the most valued treasures of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The prefaces and descriptions in these catalogues are full of interest to any who are at all acquainted with music. Among the curiosities is a "jester's flute" of the eighteenth century, so devised that the innocent victim who attempts to play it discovers that the force of his breath, instead of sounding a musical tone, ejects flour into his face. Another curiosity is a violin horn, which is practically a French horn incased in a violin, with the mouthpiece issuing at the upper end of the neck, so that the instrument when held like a 'cello can be blown as well as played with the bow. The design of the collection is to have families of instruments represented rather than to have merely rare or valuable ones exhibited. The educational value of the collection is therefore apparent. The catalogues are well indexed, and contain lists of portraits and other musical accessories in the collection.

Psalms in Human Life (The). By Rowland E. Prothero, M.V.O. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 415 pages. $3.50, net.

In August, 1863, when the infamous guerrilla leader Quantrell had burned Lawrence in Kansas, and massacred a hundred and fifty of its inhabitants, those members of Plymouth Church who had escaped with their lives met on the following Sunday, and, after reading Psalm lxxix., "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance," departed to their ruined homes. This incident, not mentioned in the present volume, is typical of its general exhibition of the Psalms as mirroring the experiences of human life from the early ages to the present time, but with a certain difference between former days and present. In the modern world the scene of trial in which the lyric utterances of ancient faith and hope serve to strengthen the soul is less on the battlefield and in the public arena, and more in the secret chambers of thought, as in such lives as those of the philanthropist Howard and Carey the missionary. The multitude of cases cited by Mr. Prothero of the use of the Psalms in critical moments of individual or social experience make a mass of biographical and historical memorabilia of the most varied kind. This copious material is chronologically distributed into twelve chapters, and well indexed for reference. By the aid of the index this volume will impart fresh interest to the use of the Psalms in devotional meetings or family worship.

Red Blood of Odd Fellowship (The). By Elvin J. Curry. Published by the Author, Baltimore, Md. 5×7½ in. 273 pages.

Rover Boys on Land and Sea (The). By Arthur M. Winfield. The Mershon Co., Rahway, N. J. 5×7½ in. 266 pages. 60c.

Self-Cure of Consumption Without Medicine (The). By Charles H. Stanley Davis, M.D., Ph.D. E. B. Treat & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 176 pages. 75c.

Singoalla: A Swedish Romance. By Viktor Rydberg. Translated by Alex Josephsson. The Grafton Press, New York. 5×8 in. 210 pages. $1.25.

Tamarack Farm: The Story of Rube Wolcott and his Gettysburg Girl. By George Scott. The Grafton Press, New York. 5×8 in. 236 pages. $1.25.

A naïve, artless little book, partly autobiographical. Despite its lack of literary form it has some genuine human experiences and some rustic fun. In large part it deals with the Civil War.

Temple Bible (The): Joshua and the Conquest of Palestine. By Rev. W. H. Bennett, D.D. **Joseph and the Land of Egypt.** By Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4×5½ in.

Of the conquest of Palestine by the Hebrews, which occupied some two hundred years, only so much is covered by this treatise as is connected with the leadership of Joshua. Professor Bennett's standpoint is with the moderate school of criticism. He recognizes nothing miraculous in the crossing of Jordan or the fall of Jericho, but does not hold with those who regard great heroes as personifications of tribes. Professor Sayce has repeatedly reinforced the conservative side in Biblical study, and brings aid to it again in his present volume. The Egyptian story of the "Two Brothers," singularly parallel to that of Joseph in Potiphar's house, he regards as of later date, and as its "echo" rather than its original. The story of Joseph is treated throughout as historical, and there are few who will not be glad if this stands as the final verdict.

Tragedy of King Lear. By William Shakespeare. Edited by William J. Rolfe, Litt.D. Illustrated. The American Book Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 304 pages.

This edition was first published in 1880, and has attained a very wide and deserved popularity, for the series of books to which it belongs is one of the best that has been put into the hands of American school-children. "King Lear" is now revised and is substantially a new edition along the same lines as the revised "Merchant of Venice," "Macbeth," "Hamlet," and other plays which have preceded it and which Dr. Rolfe has brought up to date. The chief changes have been the omission or abridgment of notes on purely textual variations, the omission of the "Critical Comments" from the Introduction, for which Dr. Rolfe has substituted familiar comments of his own, and the introduction of a concise account of Shakespeare's meter as a preface to the notes.

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Voice of the River (The): A Dartmoor Story. By Olive Katharine Parr. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 205 pages. $1.25.

Who's Who, 1904: An Annual Biographical Dictionary. (Fifty-sixth Year of Issue.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 1,700 pages. $2.

American readers are exceptionally fortunate in the fact that the supply of copies of the English "Who's Who" for 1904 were on their way to this country before the fire took place which destroyed the whole, as we understand, of the English edition. We comment so often upon the continual usefulness of this volume and that of its American namesake that we need only say that the present edition has been materially enlarged, and that it shows the same carefulness and accuracy that have marked the former issues.

Winchester Centennial, 1803-1903 (The): Historical Sketch of the Universalist Profession of Belief Adopted at Winchester, N.H., September 22, 1803. The Universalist Publishing House, Boston. 5¼×8 in. 218 pages.

The centenary anniversary of the Universalist Churches observed last year was an event of some significance in view of the theological changes to which they have contributed their share. The historical and commemorative addresses made on that occasion, together with the exposition of principles given by representative men in that denomination, constitute a volume of value to thoughtful people in all churches.

Correspondence

France and the Roman Catholic Church

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Permit me, as a warm admirer of The Outlook and one who has done what little he could to extend its circulation, to express my surprise at the attitude taken by your magazine in the matter of the expulsion of the Catholic clergy and sisters from France. I recognize, of course, that people have different religious views and look at religious dogmas from different standpoints, but that is quite a different proposition from siding with atheism in its war on any form of Christianity. I have never been able to determine from reading his writings what Dr. Lyman Abbott's views are in regard to Christ; but he certainly professes to be a minister of Christianity, and I, for one, have always regarded him as a very able and intelligent Christian clergyman. It must be evident to any one that the present anti-Catholic crusade in France is really anti-Christian, and that in reality it would be as much opposed to Protestantism as it is to Catholicity, if the former had the same religious strength in France. The honors paid to Renan not very long ago, and the insults paid to the memory of the late Pope, clearly show that. I was in Switzerland thirty-odd years ago, when the same class of atheists were busy confiscating Catholic churches and expelling Catholic bishops and priests from Geneva, and then, as now, the Protestants of this country and Europe applauded, although the men who were the leaders in the movement openly denounced all religion, and spared no occasion to ridicule the Deity and spit upon the name of Christ. It would seem to me that, aside from any question of Christian charity, Christians should not applaud attacks by the enemies of all religion on any branch of Christianity.

I am also surprised to see, in a paper as conservative and temperate as The Outlook usually is, the charge that the monks in France are both disloyal and degenerate. (See page 95, issue of September 12.) I have had the pleasure of seeing some Marist Fathers in this city who were among the clergy expelled, and though I have had a great deal of experience with degeneracy, I have been unable to discover any evidence of either mental or moral weakness in them. Among those who have been expelled have been a number of Jesuits, and whatever may be thought of Jesuits, a man must be very ignorant of that order who can find much degeneracy in its ranks. The English Passionists, who were also expelled, have never been considered degenerates, as I happen to know, in either this country or England; in fact, this charge of degeneracy seems to be a gratuitous insult, which, in an unchristian spirit, you have hurled at the heads of men whose theological views do not happen to agree with your own; whether the Sisters are also degenerates you do not say, but as they have been expelled from France, I presume they are. It is deeply to be regretted that all branches of the Christian Church do not possess more degenerates of the kind whose expulsion from France you so loudly applaud.

J. F. CARRÈRE.

[We have no doubt that our correspondent is in part correct, that the anti-Catholic crusade in France was partly an anti-religious crusade. But it is also, in our judgment, true that the ecclesiastical organizations in France ought to set the people an example of obedience to law, and should take authorization from the government for their organization, since this authorization is required by the law.—THE EDITORS.]

Save the Big Trees

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Not long ago the Outdoor Art League of California determined to work for a bill for the preservation of the Calaveras Big Tree Grove of California.

Former bills, approved by the Public

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Lands Committee and the Senate, had failed to obtain a hearing in the House of Representatives. To prevent a like fate attending the new bill, this League resolved to follow President Roosevelt's suggestion, and make the matter one of National interest. To this end it essayed the organization of a council of influential men and women in each State, whose duty it shall be to form a strong Congressional committee to act in conjunction with the California Representatives in devising ways and means for securing the passage of the bill.

Literature relative to the big trees, a personal letter, and a petition form were mailed to each United States Senator and Congressman, to each State Governor, and many State organizations.

Because the value of the trees as scientific documents must appeal to the world of scholars, the co-operation of all college presidents in all the United States was asked.

The fact that ten State Governors promptly responded, enthusiastically offering their active support, stands in strong evidence that the big trees have become a National issue.

The Governor of one great Eastern State referred the matter to the State Forest Commission, which immediately acted upon it, drafting a set of resolutions indorsing the bill, ordered a copy thereof sent to their United States Senators and Congressmen, and then re-recommended the matter to the State Forest Association, requesting them to form a State Council for the purpose of determining the best means of advancing the bill.

Letters from thoughtful people, writers, and distinguished men are received demonstrating a real fraternal feeling between the States and a National pride in the possession of "our trees."

State Federations of Women's Clubs have promptly sent in thousands of names. Civic societies, municipal improvement clubs, forestry associations, and the American Park and Outdoor Art Association have indorsed the wisdom of the bill by returning petitions with signatures amounting to over half a million names.

It is a propitious beginning. Enthusiasm runs from Maine to South Carolina, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is the voice of the people.

ELLA C. B. FASSETT,
Corresponding Secretary
Outdoor Art League of California.

A Unique Reform School

Our readers will remember that The Outlook has from time to time called attention to the excellent work of the Berkshire Industrial Farm at Canaan Four Corners, New York. We have received a letter from Dr. Franklin Carter, ex-President of Williams College, containing a renewed appeal for public support of this unique reformatory. "This work," says Dr. Carter, "begun with the great idea of the training of bad boys into honesty, purity, and helpful service, has been steadily prosecuted with this end in view. Many boys, handicapped by evil habits and on the sure road to crime, have been lifted by the healthful surroundings and gentle influences of this home to a better life. Some boys who have already been under arrest have been redeemed and after a year or two at the school have gone out to be a help rather than an expense and a curse to society." In the opinion of The Outlook there is no more important philanthropic work for society to perform than the physical, mental, and moral training of boys and girls whose family associations and environment are depressing and contaminating; for, as Dr. Carter says, "One boy reformed may mean the arrest of currents of misery and crime that would lay waste more than one township and make business for detectives or police, in this age of swift travel, all over the land." It is quite appropriate that readers of The Outlook should consider the needs of the Berkshire Industrial Farm, since through their generosity one of the cottages of the Farm was originally built. Further information may be obtained from and contributions may be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. Robert Carter, Morristown, New Jersey.

For Church and Bible

The Congregational Church-Building Society, which closed its first year with an income of $1,768, closes its fifty-first with an income of over $222,000. During this period, with a total income of over four and a half millions, it has secured through various agencies some seventeen millions of church property, much of it in strategic centers of population. As feeders and sustainers of home and foreign missionary work the importance of the church-building agencies of the several religious bodies can hardly be overestimated. In the present instance the opportunities for useful work outrun the slowly growing resources—a fact true of benevolent societies in general. The American Bible Society apprehends that it may be obliged seriously to curtail its operations, unless large special gifts are received before April 1. Largely because of a shrinkage in legacies, the benevolent gifts of the past year have fallen about $50,000 below the average of the last ten years, and a large increase of gifts from societies and churches becomes necessary. On March 7 the Society joins with the British and Foreign Bible Society in celebrating the centenary of the latter. Arrangements are making to secure an observance of Sunday, March 6, throughout the Protestant world as "Bible Sunday."

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OUT-OF-DOOR MEMORIALS

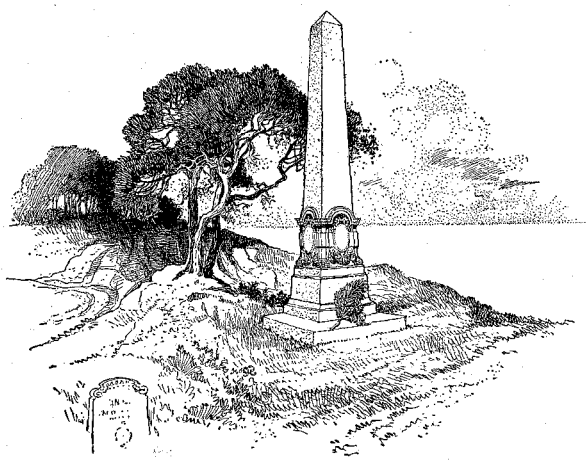
By Rev. DAVID JAMES BURRELL, LL.D.

"This is the field and Acre of our God;
This is the place where human harvests grow."

THE custom of erecting memorials to the dead is as old as love and sorrow. The saddest thing in the world is an unmarked grave, which seems to say, "Time hath a wallet at his back wherein he puts alms for oblivion." The heart that ever truly loved cannot forget. And of all tributes paid by memory to affection there is none more natural or time-honored than the fit adornment of the resting-places of our beloved. This is the least that sorrowing hearts can do.

The oldest form of mortuary memorial is *the Earthen Mound*, as in Thebes and Memphis. It develops into various forms, such as dolmen and cromlech, until it reaches its consummation in the pyramids, those "dateless tombs, where Pharaohs find their long repose."

The Headstone is, perhaps, the most universal of monuments. It is associated most intimately with Greece; and appropriately so, since, despite its modest simplicity, it is capable of indefinite variety of form and adornment. It may be a mere placard or doorplate of the sepulchre; or a quaint symbol of a quaint theology, like the scalloped gravestones of the Puritans with their open-eyed, wide-winged cherubim; or a brave, broadly founded, and beautifully eloquent tribute to the eternal verities. This was in the mind of Edmund Burke, perhaps, when he wrote, "I would rather sleep in the southern corner of a little country churchyard than in the tombs of the Capulets."



The Sepulchral Slab is little called for in these days. This is to be regretted, inasmuch as its possibilities of beauty are very great. Our forefathers used it, particularly, with recumbent figures, or where long inscriptions were desired. In ancient graveyards it compels attention by its singular appropriateness, seeming to say: "Behold the narrow bed, wherein I lay me down to pleasant dreams, awaiting the resurrection and the endless day!"

The Shaft, or monolith, is peculiarly suggestive, pointing, like an index finger, to the life beyond. It is recorded that when the beloved Rachel died, on the journey to Ephrath, her husband, Jacob, "set a pillar upon her grave, which is Rachel's pillar unto this day." (One advantage of this kind of memorial is its assured durability.) The obelisks of Egypt have for centuries survived the names of those whose glorious deeds were inscribed upon them.

Far more massive and elaborate is *the Mausoleum:* a name derived from the magnificent tomb erected by Artemisia to the memory of her husband, Mausolus, king of Caria. In the building of this historic structure, which was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the four most famous sculptors of their time, Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leschares, combined their skill. In 1867 a portion of its ruins was unearthed, sufficient to show that it was above fifty feet in height and consisted of five parts: podium or foundation, pteron or circle of columns, pyramid, pedestal, and chariot group, representing the king driven by an attendant god. To persons of considerable wealth this form of memorial is commended, as affording a large field for the display of genius, originality, and artistic skill, as well as giving expression to a regard for the dead adequate in some measure to the unsparing devotion paid to them in their earthly homes.

It remains to speak of *the Cenotaph*, literally "an empty tomb." It is usually erected in memory of those dying in battle or drowned

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at sea. The Patriotic societies of America find frequent occasion to memorialize thus the heroic deeds of those who have given their lives in defense of national life and freedom. The unhappy circumstance, that oftentimes their bodies lie in unknown graves or have been scattered on the winds and waters, should not prevent the paying of a just tribute to their illustrious deeds. It is one of the propitious signs of our patriotic life to-day that monuments of this character are being erected in parks and national cemeteries, on battlefields, and other historic sites. The cenotaph may be of almost any conventional form, from the simple tablet to the mausoleum; its essential feature being a just commemoration of heroic virtues and achievements.

The appropriateness of any such memorial is, in large measure, determined by the *epitaph* or inscription upon it. The Romans made slight reference to the domestic or social benevolences of their dead, but fully enumerated their public services. The Saxons were fond of heraldic devices. The graves of the Crusaders are marked by the transverse cross and weapon:

> "Their swords are rust,
> Their good steeds dust,
> Their souls are with their God, we trust."

Fulsome eulogies are transparently absurd. The monument of the brave Three Hundred of Thermopylæ bore this simple legend: "Go, traveler, tell at Lacedæmon that we died in obedience to her sacred laws." An epitaph should always be brief and well-worded in the language of the heart. "Here lies rare Ben Jonson," or "Here died Wolfe, victorious," is enough to tell the story. God's Acre is no place for flattery; nor can sonorous adulation cover the universal facts of life.

> "Praises on tombs are trifles vainly spent;
> A good man's name is his best monument."

The word "Washington" on a tomb at Mount Vernon is better than long periods of Latin panegyric. Nothing could surpass the eloquence of this inscription on the National Monument at Springfield:

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE,
LINCOLN
WITH CHARITY FOR ALL."

It is obvious that much of the repellent inappropriateness of memorial art and architecture would be avoided by committing the work to artistic hands. How much there is that is simply vulgar; how much that is commonplace; how much that is grotesque and bizarre! And this in "the sacred suburb of the Heavenly City," where all should be dignified and reverent. No novice can hope to accomplish the desired end. There must be harmony of material and design. The shaft must have proportion; the mausoleum, symmetry. Strength and beauty must combine as in Solomon's Temple: "He sets up the pillars in the porch of the Temple; and upon the top of the pillars was lily work."

The commercial consideration is too frequently pushed to the front. Wealth alone is not competent in these premises. It is not a mere matter of dollars and cents. A modest slab may be as really a masterpiece in its place as the most imposing cenotaph; but it requires more than a stone-cutter to make it so. Here, surely, is a call for Bezaleel, the master, and his skilled subordinates.

There is cause for congratulation in the improvement of our cemeteries in recent years. No longer are all their gateways open to bold caricatures. The time is coming when God's Acre will be the fairest spot of earth. Mould and melancholy will give way to the comforting and uplifting symbols of memory and triumphant faith. The passer-by will be moved to look away from the darkness of the open grave to the glory of the open heavens. The voiceless marble of God's Acre will respond to the voices of the beloved dead, calling us to meet them in the City that hath foundations whose builder and maker is God.

The most fitting outdoor memorial is that which satisfactorily meets the architectural and artistic conditions of its surroundings and which expresses a lasting sentiment with artistic dignity. It is the careful consideration of every detail which has made the name of the Tiffany Studios of New York notable for the designing of outdoor memorials, as well as for exquisite church work in glass and mosaic. The requirements of art and architecture are fully met in the finished design, while the selection of materials is made by trained artisans, under the personal supervision of the artist.

The Tiffany Studios embrace in their varied activities all forms and materials used in the decorative arts, and are, therefore, prepared to suggest and execute memorials of any character, from the simplest tablet to the most imposing mausoleum.

Some idea of the variety of their work may be gained from the illustrated brochures which the Tiffany Studios issue from time to time and which will be sent, on request, from their office at 333 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

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The lines for the coming season of 1904 will be ready about January 15th (many of them are ready now). They will include Linen Fabrics of all kinds, which promise to be exceedingly popular next season, as well as Cottons, and Silk and Cotton Mixtures of every desirable weave, suitable for Summer Gowns, Children's Dresses, Wash Waists, Tub Gowns and Lingerie.

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Embroidered Mulls, Embroidered Swiss Muslins
Mercerized Cheviots and Madras for Shirt Waists and Suits
Dress Dimities, Plain and Fancy Piqués
Embroidered Linens, English and French Shirtings
Fancy Tuckings in Batiste, Swiss, Organdie, Lawn, and Cambric
Fancy French and English Dress Cottons
A Full Line of Plain Dress Goods in French Batiste, English Nainsook, French Organdie, French and English Percales, French Nainsook, Soft-Finished Cambrics, Long Cloths, India Linons, Persian Lawns, and Irish and German Linens

COLORED GOODS

Embroidered Swiss Muslins, Printed Linen Lawns
Plain and Fancy Linen Batiste, Printed Dimities
Fancy Colored French Dress Cottons, Silk Mousselines
Fancy French Silk Shirtings
Scotch Cheviot and Madras in Many New and Exclusive Combinations
Linen Zephyrs and Etamines, Galatea Suitings
Printed English and French Percales
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is of great assistance to Outlook readers in selling or exchanging all kinds of *Articles;* in seeking *Positions* or *Business Opportunities;* or looking for *Help* in all the better grades. An advertisement in The Outlook Want Department is almost certain to bring results. *The rate for notices in this Department is* Five Cents *for each word or initial, address included. Orders should be sent (with remittance) at least ten days prior to publication.*

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STUDY with me by correspondence the speediest and most legible system of Shorthand. Miss Brigham, 9 Park St., Boston.

GAME OF PRONUNCIATION. Fifty cents. Send stamp for information. Charles Harris, Oxford, Mass.

WANTED—Clergymen or other reliable men to increase their income ten to fifty dollars weekly. Can be done home. For particulars and references write Rev. Geo. V. Reichel, Brockport, N. Y.

WANTED—By a western college of high grade, a lady principal and matron. A woman of culture and the best social experience, personally attractive and of well-balanced Christian character, with experience in housekeeping, is desired. Good salary, comfortable quarters, congenial companionship. No.7,719, The Outlook.

WANTED—A limited number of active, educated men of business ability. Definite guarantee basis. Apply at once. Give age, qualifications, references. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

WANTED—By graduate kindergartner, position in school or as governess. Address C., No. 7,837, The Outlook.

EXAMINATION for entrance to Apprentice Class of the Brooklyn Public Library will be held February 11 at 9:30 A.M. Open to all candidates between ages of 18 and 35. For information apply at 26 Brevoort Place, Brooklyn.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY wanted in every city and town in United States not yet represented. Educational institution. Spare time only. State fully occupation, age, school training, time available, references. Address No. 7,865, The Outlook.

SECRETARY, newspaper experience, desires position. No. 7,933, The Outlook.

EMBROIDERERS WANTED on infants' cashmere sacques and wrappers. Knitters on sacques and bootees. Home work to experienced hands only, and who can do fine work and furnish commenced or complete samples, showing the work they can do. Reference required. Call on or address R. R. Barringer, 16 E. 13th St.

LIBRARIAN would like position in New England States; graduate of library school; cataloging and children's departments specialties. Mrs. Buck, 94 Warren St., Roxbury, Mass.

PROF. OF FRENCH language, Parisian, two years in America, competent. References given. Desires position in Eastern college for young men for Autumn, 1904. Teaches classes under patronage of Columbia University. Address J. O., 46 West 66th St., New York.

LET US SEND a copy of our "Outline." We can help you understand the Bible. American Bible Institute, Medford, N. J.

NEW HAVENERS, out of town, who desire to have the graves of relatives or friends decorated for Easter, please address Sigma, No. 7,871, The Outlook. Pastor's reference.

AN EXPERIENCED TEACHER desires charge of music department in school or institution in any State. Technique a specialty. Address No. 7,869, The Outlook.

BUSINESS. — Gentleman of executive ability desires position with business house as office manager. Address Business, No. 7,885, The Outlook.

COMFORT AND GOOD BOARD can be found in private family of adults by quiet, refined man. Pleasant room adjoining bath, large closet. Neighborhood 93d Street "L" Station. References. No. 7,883, The Outlook.

LADY OFFERS refined home near London (Ealing) to one or two lady paying guests, or to not more than 3 young ladies of good family desirous of finishing their education in England. Very exclusive. No. 7,617, The Outlook.

GOVERNESSES, visiting and resident, teachers, professors, traveling companions, kindergartners, musicians, trained nurses, matrons, etc. For desirable engagements address Miss Hopkins's Agency, 1 and 3 Union Square, New York.

WANTED—By a young French-American girl, position as nursery governess. Address M. Perrin, 20 W. 61st St., N. Y. City.

LADY living near Stuyvesant Square wishes to share furnished apartment of eight rooms with one or two ladies. Total rent $100 monthly. Highest references given and required. No. 7,893, The Outlook.

WANTED — Man, highest character, good correspondent, capable taking charge office when manager is temporarily absent. Prospect latter assuming entire charge branch. Mail references, stating experience. Thomson, Suite 425, 253 B'way, New York.

"OF ALL THAT MEN HAVE, God's tithe must be rendered to Him." How much have you rendered to God for His work at Bethesda, the leper home in Surinam, where there are 3,000 lepers still uncared for? Have you read Miss Prence's description of work being done there? Ask for "Among the Lepers of Surinam." "Bethesda," 12 Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

POSITION as matron or housekeeper in home, orphanage, or other institution. Experienced. Address No. 7,895, The Outlook.

FAMILIES AND INSTITUTIONS in need of housekeepers, matrons, governesses, companions, etc., address Miss Richard, 48 Lloyd Ave., Providence, R. I.

AN ESTABLISHED SCHOOL for girls in beautiful country home wishes to associate with itself another school, one willing to change its location; or would receive partner with small capital. Very advantageous terms. Address D. M., No. 7,909, Outlook.

NO REMUNERATION.—Lessons in French, German, English, music, by experienced teacher, in exchange for refined home. Rapid progress. New York references. Box 300, Walton, N. Y.

WANTED — By lady of refinement, a position as mother's helper in or near New York City. No. 7,931, The Outlook.

EXPERIENCED EUROPEAN CHAPERON wants two young ladies to complete party of four for a three months' tour, sailing June 1. England, Holland, Germany (Bayreuth), Switzerland, France. Address No. 7,937, The Outlook.

WANTED—As assistant in the book department of a publishing house, a young woman of good education and some experience. Address No. 7,917, The Outlook.

Burpee's Seeds, Philadelphia

A postal addressed as above will bring you Burpee's Farm Annual for 1904,—if you intend to buy Burpee's Seeds—otherwise the price is ten cents, which is less than cost per copy in quarter-million editions. It is an elegant book of 178 pages, with Six Superb colored plates; tells the plain truth about the Best Seeds that Grow. Better write TO-DAY! Do not delay!

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Mr. CHAS. W. WHITE, Beech Creek, Clinton Co., Va., March 2, 1901, writes:

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For CHILDREN'S COLDS the best remedy is JAYNE'S EXPECTORANT.

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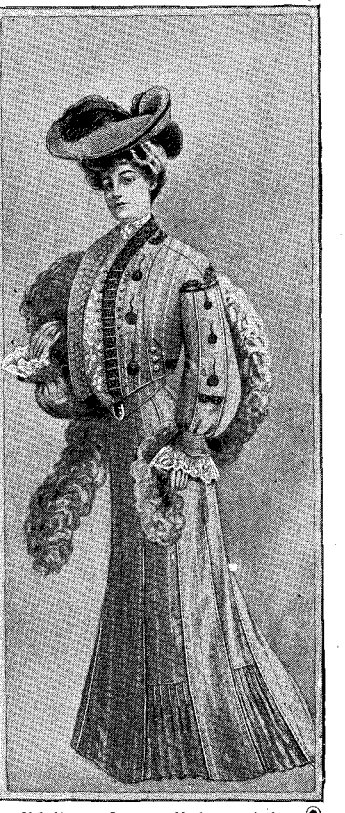

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Walking Suits and Skirts, Rainy-Day Suits, Rain Coats, Traveling Dresses, etc.

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We Guarantee to fit and please you. If we do not, return the garment promptly and we will refund your money.

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A copy of No. 5 of the "Four-Track Series," "America's Winter Resorts," will be sent free to any address on receipt of a two-cent stamp, by George H. Daniels, General Passenger Agent, New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, Grand Central Station, New York.

Pennsylvania Railroad Tour to California and New Orleans Mardi Gras

A personally conducted tour to Southern California will leave New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg by special train over the Pennsylvania Railroad, on February 11. The route of the tour will be via New Orleans, stopping at that point three days to witness the Mardi Gras festivities. The special train will be continued through to Los Angeles, from which point tourists will travel independently through California and on the return trip.

The special train in which the party will travel from New York to Los Angeles will be composed of high-grade Pullman equipment, and will be in charge of a Pennsylvania Railroad Tourist Agent.

The round-trip rate, $250, covers transportation and all expenses on the special train to Los Angeles, including a seat for the Mardi Gras Carnival. From Los Angeles tickets will cover transportation only, and will be good to return at any time within nine months, via any authorized transcontinental route, except via Portland for which an additional charge of $15.00 is made.

For complete details and further information, apply to Ticket Agents; Tourist Agent, No. 263 Fifth Avenue, New York; 4 Court Street, Brooklyn; 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.; or Geo. W. Boyd, General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Niagara Falls Route
To New York, Boston, and the East

The Michigan Central has four splendid through trains daily between Chicago and New York and Boston. Two run via Niagara Falls, stopping five minutes at Falls View. Ten-day stop-over at Niagara allowed on all through tickets. Chicago City Ticket Office, 119 Adams Street; Central Station, Michigan Avenue and 12th Street, Chicago.

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The Overland Limited and the California Express are daily trains from Chicago to Omaha and San Francisco via the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and Union Pacific line. There are no changes nor delays. Winter tourist rates now in effect. Descriptive booklets free. W. S. Howell, General Eastern Agent, 381 Broadway, New York.

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Coaching tour in **England, Scotland,** and **Ireland** sailing June 23.
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The undersigned, appreciating the fact that there is a class of people who desire to travel, but hesitate to join a party because its number and personnel are unknown, states that he is organizing a limited party of cultured people to leave New York April 2d, 1904, for a twenty-four weeks' tour through the Continent and England, at an inclusive cost of $1,100.00. To bona-fide applicants he will send the Itinerary containing references and full particulars. Address

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AN ARTIST who has for a number of years successfully conducted parties through Europe is willing to chaperon a limited number of young ladies for the seasons of 1904. *References: Hon. Wm. Brinkerhoff,* 1 Exchange Place, Jersey City; Mrs. Wm. Moir, 42 W. 53d St., N. Y. City. Address Miss M. NELSON, Van Dyck Studios, 939 Eighth Ave., N. Y. City.

ART TOUR

Small private party of ladies will tour the art centers of Europe, sailing for Italy late June. Highest references. Address Artist, No. 7,935, The Outlook.

FREE TOUR TO EUROPE

All expenses. Clergymen, Teachers, and others who can influence 8 friends to join one of my parties will be given one free ticket. Send for particulars and itineraries to EDWIN JONES, 462 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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